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NEW TIMES

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THE SOVIET UNION IN PICTURES

The whole country has rallied to the aid of the little Ukrainian town of Chernobyl in its hour of need. Lorry and bus drivers in Kiev protested when told they had the right to refuse to drive to the danger zone to evacuate the people there. And from Siberia came wires inviting the Chernobyl folk to come and stay there.

Tens of thousands of people were evacuated from the 30-kilometre zone around the scene of the disaster. They were received by neighbouring districts, given lump sum grants by the state to purchase clothes and other necessities, for they had left all their belongings behind in the zone that is now closed. The local inhabitants took them in and made them welcome.

The smaller children have been placed in kindergartens, the older children are attending school. The local people went out of their way to make things easier for the newcomers, to help them over the first difficult adjustment period. For the Chernobyl schoolchildren classes begin as usual at 8.30 a. m., local children study in the second shift.

For some of the Chernobyl children the whole thing was doubtless a big adventure. The magnitude of the danger they had been exposed to has not yet been brought home to them. Besides, the summer holidays have begun this year ten days earlier than usual.

Many of the smaller children and the women with infants are now being sent to holiday homes or summer camps.

We do not yet know when these people will be able to return home. But we do know that they will be taken care of throughout their forced exile by the whole multinational family of Soviet people. "Our prime duty now is to help the people who have suffered from the accident," Mikhail Gorbachev said at his meeting with Dr Armand Hammer and Dr Robert Gale, both of whom had been given ample evidence of the absolute sincerity of these words.

Meanwhile money is pouring into the Chernobyl Aid Fund, with donations coming from the Baltic and the Far East, from the Asian republics and the Urals.

People are sometimes judged by how they bear up under pain —physical and moral. In other words, how they behave at times of trouble. A strong man, it is said of one who does not flinch in the face of disaster. By the same token it might be said of the U.S.S.R.: a strong country.

These little Chernobyl footballers are playing their first guest match.

Natasha and Nadya from Pripyat are having a fine time at a Young Pioneer Camp. They are still too young to know the word "evacuation."

TASS photos

THE ECHO OF NEVADA

Its code name was Panamint, and its yield, up to 20 kilotons. It was admittedly "weapons-related," in other words, with a bearing on the development of a new generation of weapons by means of which the U.S. hopes to gain superiority over the U.S.S.R.

The latest explosion in Nevada was Washington's cynical reply to Moscow's renewed call to join in the moratorium the Soviet Union has prolonged the third time, until August 6 this year. The reply to our repeated proposal for an early summit so as to agree on a ban on all nuclear tests.

The White House, with imperial arrogance, turns a deaf ear to the Soviet peace initiatives and the demand of hundreds of millions of people in the U.S. itself and in scores of other countries on all continents that an end be put to explosions. For it is self-evident that without them it would be impossible to modernize and build up nuclear weapons, the spawn of imperialism. There is already enough of these weapons to wipe out civilization many times over.

Now that we have seen what happens when the peaceful atom gets out of control, the dimensions of the catastrophe with which nuclear weapons are fraught stand out more starkly than ever. And the Chernobyl accident is in no way comparable to the horrors the uncurbed war-geared atom could spell for mankind. All realistic-minded people are well aware of this. Hence the approbation and hope with which the world received the news from Moscow of the prolongation of the moratorium. And hence also the anger evoked by the news from Nevada of the latest explosion, the 11th since the Soviet moratorium entered into force on August 6 last year.

The Nevada tests are part of the futile drive for superiority mounted on the other side of the ocean. The other day the U.S. tested the MX first-strike intercontinental missile, for the first time armed with ten warheads. Under Washington pressure NATO has endorsed a "chemical modernization" programme. And shortly there are to be trial runs of a new nuclear submarine with the sinister but symbolic name Nevada.

It is high time to discard the illusory hopes of achieving superiority over the U.S.S.R. and the socialist world either on Earth or in space. It is high time to put the brakes on the runaway arms buildup. It is self-evident that the first step towards this is to stop nuclear tests. Clearly, the struggle to achieve this will be a difficult one. It demands no little effort of policy makers and all who prize peace the world over. Untiring effort to this end is the only guarantee of success.

FROM OUR MAILBAG

I consider the 27th CPSU Congress the most important event of the year. In my opinion, it could be called the congress of renewal, of peace, progress, the hopes of the peoples for a peaceful future. It was an instructive lesson for bourgeois democracy. The Party's programme was discussed and drafted by the entire nation. The Soviet Communists gave expression to the most cherished aspirations of the people. They gave a thoughtful, truly Leninist appraisal of achievements, pinpointed mistakes and called for every effort to be made to carry out all that had been outlined, to heighten the standard of living and the well-being of all Soviet people, and to strengthen world peace.

GREGORIO GONZALEZ GARCIA
Madrid, Spain

The undeclared war against the Angolan people is an inseparable part of the class struggle on an international plane. It is a war between the forces of peace and progress, on the one hand, and the forces of reaction, on the other. Nothing and no one can shake the resolve of the Angolan working people to carry forward their revolution and build socialism. Neither the White House, nor Pretoria, which supports the UNITA band, can alter the course of history.

COLENSE S. SOUSA
Angolan student
Erfurt, G.D.R.

I am appalled to see that many people here in the West have been swept up in the hysterical campaign launched by Washington against Libya. Some people appear to have completely lost their critical faculties. For instance, they believe wholeheartedly the unsubstantiated claim that terrorist suicide squads are being trained in Libya. But Colonel Gaddafi has unequivocally condemned terrorism.

ROBERT SMITH
Vancouver, Canada

NEW TIMES

A SOVIET WEEKLY OF WORLD AFFAIRS

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COVER:
June 1—the International Children's Day. A poster of the Bangladesh Afro-Asian Peoples' Solidarity Organization

THE POOREST CONTINENT

In Africa about 30 million people are starving. The infant mortality is 140 in every thousand. U.N. experts estimate that $190 billion is needed to speed up the solution of the continent's basic development problems. Where is the money to come from?

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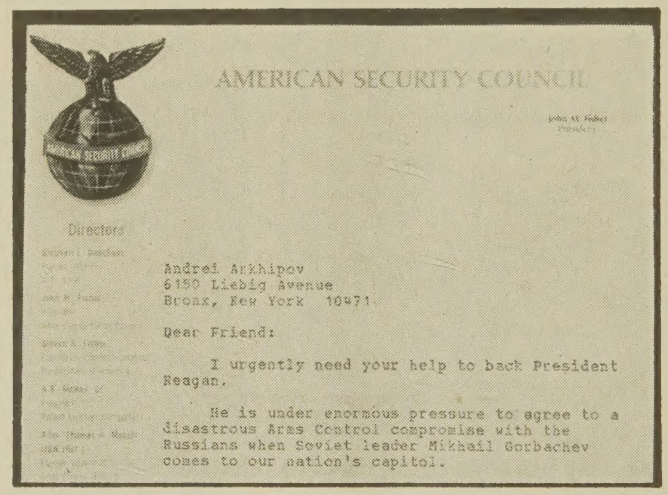

AMERICAN SECURITY COUNCIL

Directors

Andrei Arkhipov
6150 Liebig Avenue
Bronx, New York 10471

Dear Friend:

I urgently need your help to back President Reagan.

He is under enormous pressure to agree to a disastrous Arms Control compromise with the Russians when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev comes to our nation's capitol.

THE SECRET SPRINGS OF THE "REAGAN DOCTRINE"

The New York bureau of New Times received an unusual letter. It was from John Fisher, President of the American Security Council, who asked our correspondent Andrei Arkhipov to donate money to President Reagan as a contribution to the Administration's defence effort. Otherwise "a disastrous arms control compromise with the Russians" was imminent.

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COMRADE NADJIB, GENERAL SECRETARY OF THE PDPA

At the May plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan Comrade Nadjib was elected General Secretary of the party.

He is 39 and has dedicated 20 of these years to the revolution. As a university student in the 1960s he was among the rebellious youth. He worked in the underground. He has occupied a number of leading posts in revolutionary Afghanistan.

He considers that the party's main task is to fight for an end to the bloodshed in Afghanistan.

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CHERNOBYL WARNS:

The Nuclear Age Calls for New Thinking

LEV FEOKTISTOV, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Deputy Director of the Kurchatov Atomic Energy Institute

"Why couldn't you have left the atom alone?" we are sometimes asked. "If you hadn't delved into it, there would have been no Hiroshima, no danger of an imminent nuclear holocaust and self-destruction, and no Chernobyls."

My answer is as follows. Science develops according to its own internal laws and the logic of cognition. In time scientists unravelled the mysteries of the atom. Few realized then, in the mid-forties, however, that the harnessing of the unruly atom had put all of us on the planet in the same boat and called for a new approach to international relations.

Albert Einstein and Bertrand Russell wrote at the time that "we have to learn to think in a new way. We have to learn to ask ourselves not what steps can be taken to give military victory to whatever group we prefer, there no longer are such steps; the question we have to ask ourselves is: what steps can be taken to prevent a military contest of which the issue must be disastrous to all parties." These prophetic words have lost none of their relevance today.

Unfortunately, learning to think in a new way proved much more difficult for certain statesmen than discovering the enigmas of the Universe was to us scientists. The reaction of certain Western countries to the Chernobyl accident is the latest case in point. This is why Mikhail Gorbachev has again pointed to the need for new thinking and a new policy in the nuclear age. In a sense, Chernobyl has become a common tragedy and a common lesson to mankind. For today the atom serves at once peaceful and, alas, military purposes.

The Advantages of the Peaceful Use of Atomic Energy

Energy consumption is growing in almost all spheres of contemporary life. The per capita gross national product of various countries is in direct proportion to energy consumption. Energy will play an ever more important role in the years to come owing to the depletion of the planet's mineral resources and the need for environmental protection and increasing soil productivity.

More than 370 atomic reactors function in the world today

At the present rate of mining, the commercial resources of copper, tin, zinc, lead and mercury could be exhausted within a relatively short period. The burning of organic fuel deprives the coming generations not only of an energy source, but also of the raw materials that go into making plastics and many other useful products. All this leads to economic instability. The first symptoms are already in evidence today. The only way to offset this alarming tendency is to introduce efficient production processes that require abundant energy supplies. With large amounts of energy available per worker, mankind will be able to replace natural materials with synthetic ones (including artificial energy carriers such as hydrogen). Besides, competition for access to natural resources probably adds more to the danger of war today than any other factor in international life.

The intensive development of the "conventional" power industry leads to irreversible climatic changes on a global scale. Here is an example: the growing concentration of carbon dioxide in the atmosphere caused by the burning of organic fuel may have raised the average air temperature at the earth's surface by 1-2°C in the year 2000 and by 3-5°C in 2050 as compared with the end of the 19th century. A rise in air temperature by a mere 1°C will reduce the world's food output by an estimated 1-3 per cent. It will also result in a marked shift of agroclimatic zones across state borders.

Functioning in the world today are more than 370 atomic reactors, 40 of them in the U.S.S.R. with a total output capacity of over 28 million kw. The world's nuclear power industry produces as much energy as does all the petroleum extracted in Saudi Arabia.

Another argument in favour of nuclear power plants is that organic fuel resources are distributed extremely un-

evenly over the planet's surface. This is true of the U.S.S.R. as well. Most of the U.S.S.R.'s enormous resources, for example, lie in the Asian part of the country, with the European part accounting for 80 per cent of the energy consumed in the country. Organic fuel deliveries from the east of the country to the west constitute almost 40 per cent of our railways' total freight turnover.

Although it weighs a mere 20 grammes, an enriched uranium pellet, a constituent of an atomic reactor's fuel, contains as much energy as a ton of petroleum. This is enough energy to heat a one-family home for six months, or drive a car for almost a year. Uranium is quite widely spread in the litho- and hydrospheres. Soviet and American scientists are of the opinion that its deposits are distributed fairly evenly over the earth's surface. Uranium is easier to store and transport than other fuels. It takes up 1/50,000th of the storage space required by conventional fuel of the same energy content. Consequently, any uranium-importing country can stock it in amounts sufficient to keep the economy functioning over a long period. This is possible on condition that more fast-neutron breeder reactors are used in the nuclear power industry. Their introduction will call for highly efficient used-fuel processing facilities (radiochemical plants with an annual capacity of not less than a thousand tons of uranium a year) and reliable means of radioactive waste-hardening and isolation from the biosphere.

The International Atomic Energy Agency (IAEA) has put forward the idea of establishing international centres for nuclear fuel processing. This would be an important confidence-building measure and would go a long way towards a guaranteed non-proliferation of nuclear weapons. Given strict control to ensure their non-proliferation as well as the safety of atomic power stations, fast-neutron breeders would become a factor in stabilizing international relations. The extensive utilization of atomic energy will make countries, which have no organic fuel deposits of their own, self-sufficient in energy.

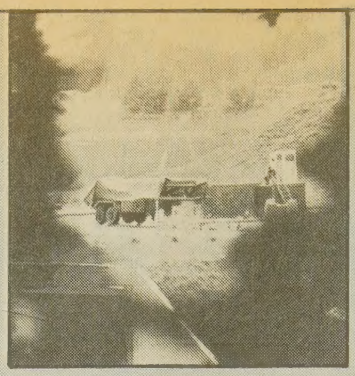
Investigations conducted in our country have revealed that the operation of atomic power plants has no harmful effect on public health, that they are the least air-polluting means of energy production and do minimum damage to the environment.

On the other hand, the Chernobyl accident has given special urgency to the need for international safety arrangements for the nuclear industry based on the close cooperation of all countries engaged in nuclear energy generation. It is time for an efficient warning and information system regarding accidents at nuclear power plants to be made operational. This would be of special importance in cases of accidents resulting in radioactive contamination of the environment. It is time to devise and put into action an international mechanism for rendering prompt assistance wherever dangerous situations arise, to convene a special international conference in Vienna under the auspices of the IAEA to discuss the problems involved, and to draw the specialized U.N. institutions into this activity. The Soviet Union has just advanced these proposals.

I should like to remind you of an earlier Soviet initiative. The Soviet government submitted to the U.N. a draft agreement on the preservation of atomic power plants. Attempts to destroy them, even by means of conventional weapons, should be regarded as use of atomic weapons and, accordingly, as a grave crime against humanity.

The reason for this is that the safety arrangements at atomic power plants do not provide for a war situation, and the consequences of destroying an atomic power plant by bombing are comparable with those of a one-megaton thermonuclear explosion.

And now another question arises.



630

accidents involving nuclear weapons have been registered in the U.S. armed forces over the past twenty years. A B-52 strategic bomber with nuclear bombs on board blazed for three hours at Grand Forks base, North Dakota. In Damascus, Arkansas, a Titan 2 missile exploded in its silo, expelling the nuclear warhead. In Mayport, a nuclear-tipped missile fell on the deck of a frigate... 630 accidents so far... What next?

A Pershing 2 accident at a U.S. base in the F.R.G.
Photo from Stern (F.R.G.)

The Danger of the Military Use of Atomic Energy

May I remind you that the yield of the atomic bomb dropped on Hiroshima was 12.5 kilotons. Today the nuclear powers have in their arsenals warheads of 20 and more megatons. Detonated over a city with a population of, say, a million and an area of 250 sq km, such a warhead would wipe this city off the face of the earth, destroy all structures and service lines over an area of up to 500 sq km and start fires over a radius of 30 and more kilometres from the epicentre of the blast. Winds will extend the fall-out area by hundreds of kilometres. This is the damage just one bomb can do. And remember that the United States alone has about 30,000 nuclear warheads, 10,000 of which are strategic. One shudders to think of the consequences of the Pentagon deploying nuclear weapons in outer space as part of the Strategic Defence Initiative.

Experts engaged in the mathematical modelling of climates at the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences' Computer Centre predict that a thermonuclear war will cause heavy pollution of the atmosphere with fine particles of dust, which will result in truly catastrophic climatic consequences. Their calculations indicate that within 40 days of a nuclear conflict, average air temperature in certain regions of the Northern Hemisphere will have dropped by tens of degrees. "Nuclear winter" will have set in.

In other words, the continuous improvement and stockpiling of nuclear weapons have made the world situation explosive. It is sheer madness to ignore this fact, let alone aggravate the situation further. We scientists speak of stable and unstable equilibria. The kind of equilibrium which leads to arms stockpiling cannot be stable. Hence the vital need for the elimination of nuclear weapons. The Soviet Union was the first nuclear power to realize this and to put forward a programme for the stage-by-stage elimination of nuclear weapons by the year 2000.

Banning nuclear tests would be the easiest and most effective move with which to start the implementation of the Soviet programme. This is what our country proposes. Moreover, it has taken unilateral steps in this direction by observing a moratorium on any nuclear blasts for eight months. This despite Washington's stubborn refusal to follow its example. The Americans are not sure, it appears, that a ban could be adequately verified (in-

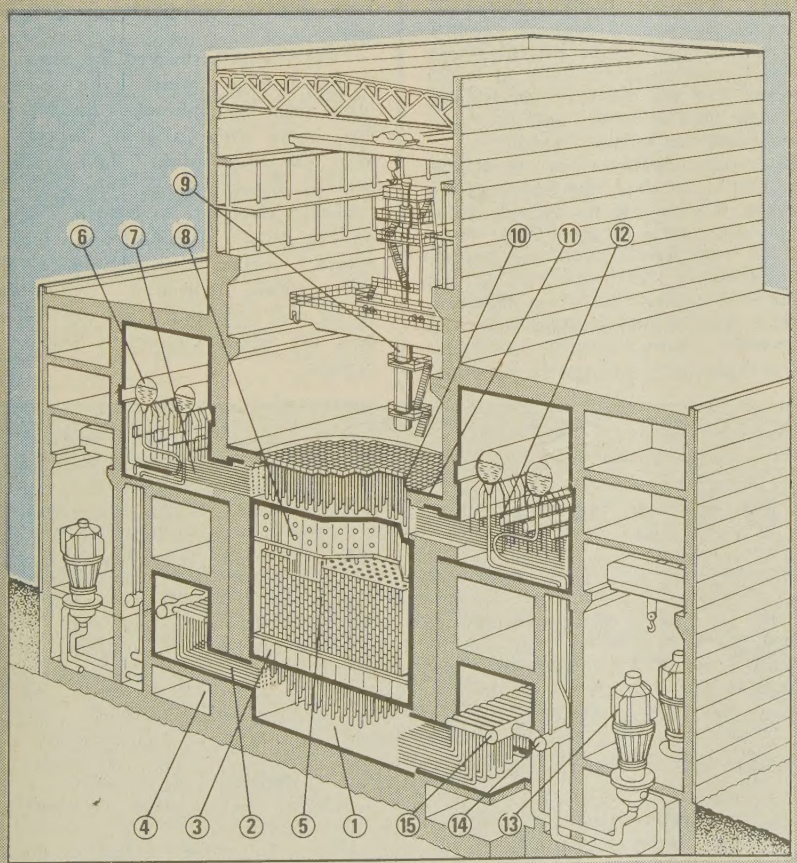
cidentally, the Soviet side is also in favour of verification). It will be recalled that the American scientists Hans Bethe and Kurt Gottfried refuted the White House's statement that the U.S. was in no position to monitor Moscow's observance of the 150-kiloton nuclear-blast yield limit, and referred to the leading geophysicists who had confirmed the possibility of detecting two-kiloton underground explosions and confidently distinguishing them from earthquakes.

"Concealing" a nuclear explosion, even a low-yield one, is virtually out of the question. What is now needed is the mutual will to reach an agreement on banning nuclear tests, which will slow down the arms race. Unfortunately, Washington wants no such agreement, because it would upset its plans for building up its nuclear potential, enormous as it already is. The U.S. has already got down to the implementation of new test programmes—nuclear-pumped laser weapons intended for the future "star wars" are being experimented with in Nevada.

Nevertheless, the Soviet Union has extended—even at the risk of putting itself at a disadvantage—its unilateral moratorium on any nuclear explosions until August 6, 1986 (Hiroshima Day). We are again extending a hand to the United States. For, in our complex and troubled times Chernobyl is also a warning to be heeded.

Eyewitness accounts have it that Oppenheimer, shaken by the first A-bomb test, repeated under his breath a line from an ancient Indian epic poem: "I am become Death, the Shatterer of worlds." Atomic energy can and must serve life. ■

General View of the RBMK-1000 Reactor



1 — support metalwork; 2 — individual water pipes; 3 — bottom metalwork; 4 — side biological shield; 5 — graphite pile; 6 — drum-separator; 7 — individual steam-and-water pipes; 8 — top metalwork; 9 — charge and discharge machine; 10 — top central floor; 11 — top side floor; 12 — fuel element can tightness check system; 13 — master circulating pump; 14 — suction manifold; 15 — header manifold.

Diagram from the manual "Atomic Power Plant Equipment Design"

Diplomats Visit Kiev

A cottage in the Ukraine. An elderly woman. Beside her are her new neighbours, a milkmaid and her daughter, evacuees from the Chernobyl area. I asked their names and wondered if she could name other people who had given shelter to evacuees.

"Why do you need names?" says the woman. "I've taken in just two people, and in the house across the street they've given shelter to four, and over there, to three. It's the same in every home. How can I name myself and not name others? I would have to list all the villagers. All of them have done everything to make the Chernobyl people feel at home."

The conversation, which took place in a small Ukrainian hamlet where our buses stopped briefly, was typical. All who are in any degree involved in helping the victims of the accident would talk in a similar way.

"Attention, we are flying over Chernobyl atomic power station." The announcement in a plane from Moscow to Kiev causes animation among the passengers. Many foreign diplomats accredited to Moscow peer through the portholes. It was at their request that the U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs organized the trip to enable them to see for themselves how the accident is being handled.

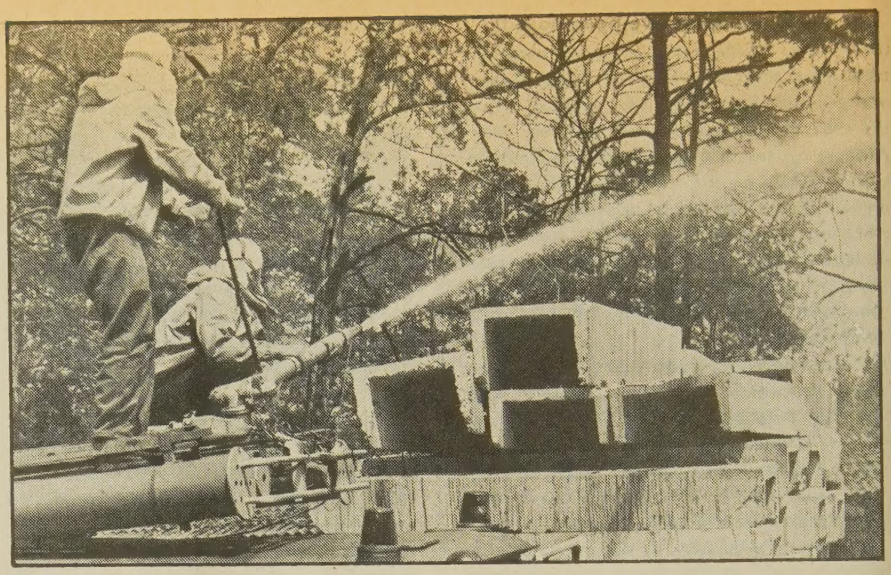
Kreshchatik, Kiev's main street, is as crowded and bustling as ever. A cosy summer café in the shade of chestnut trees invites customers. Outside the city you frequently see watering trucks and roadside signs warning you not to pull off the road. In case there is still any radioactive dust. There was excitement among our travelling party when they saw anglers at the edge of a pond just outside Kiev. Someone said that he had just read in a Western magazine that all the lakes and rivers in the Kiev area were contaminated. Our eyes were also caught by a grazing herd of cows, all long dead, according to the Western press.

Four hundred and seventy people and more than two thousand head of cattle were evacuated from the Chervonoye Polesye Collective Farm some 15 kilometres from the atomic power plant. They were accepted by the inhabitants of the village of Fasovaya, Makarovsky District, which was our destination.

"We got a day's notice of the evacuation and had time to prepare," says Alexei Kirilchuk, the collective farm manager. "It took us less than four hours to dispatch all the necessary things, people, and domestic animals. People in the village of Fasovaya were awaiting us. They led us into their homes, fed us and comforted us. I want to thank them for it. Within hours they had sheds ready for our cows, and organized milking. We village folk were worried about how the journey would affect the cows. At first, milk yields fell. But the local people took good care of the cows. They offered the best pastures and now we get at least as much milk as we did at home."

The visitors showered questions on Nikolai Gudzevaty, chairman of the local village council, who was responsible for accommodating the evacuees. Another notice had been put up on his office door reading: "Chapayev Village Council of People's Deputies, Chernobyl District."

"Actually, we now have two farms—our own and the Chernobyl farm. They complement each other. Even before the people arrived we had thought about where to accommodate them. We decided that it would be a good idea to have farm machine operators live in the homes of our farm machine operators, and livestock breeders in the homes of our livestock breeders. People always get along together better if they have the same job. We had extra gas stoves installed in the homes, and decided that we would supply the settlers with all their food. The very next day things went ahead as normal. All the able-bodied people and even some who had retired turned up for work in the fields and on the animal farm, the children went to school, and the little ones to kindergarten."



The atomic power plant grounds being decontaminated.
Photo by Vitaly Ankov (Krasnaya Zvezda)

Pavel Kozlenko, who came from Chernobyl, chips in:

"There was no panic before or during the journey. Everybody realized it was necessary. We live in whole families. Sometimes we are a little crowded, but the general atmosphere is friendly all the same, and I would like to thank the villagers for it."

The foreign visitors were of course anxious to know about the health of the evacuees. We went to the village radiation control centre where they were checking both new arrivals and permanent residents. Mikhail Svatula, the doctor who carried out the checkup, had to answer a hail of questions from the guests. Paul-Christopher Mukasa-Ssali, a diplomat from Uganda, obviously intent on trying everything for himself, asked to be checked too. I asked the doctor about the results.

"You see, the arrow has moved only very slightly. Everything is fine," he said.

"The villagers showed the same level as the foreign guest. The readings taken from the Chernobyl people when they came were slightly worse, but after decontamination their radiation level is almost normal. This is the third radiation checkup. As before, there are no sick people. I came from Krivoi Rog where I worked in an ambulance. When the accident happened, I volunteered to go and help out. I am not the only one, the whole country is helping the victims."

OUR COMMENT

What Was USA Today After?

The paranoid fear evoked here by the irresponsible press and TV speculation on the accident at the Chernobyl atomic power station is gradually subsiding. It is being quietly admitted that the American scientists who made sweeping statements on the basis of the accident about the unreliability of all Soviet designs of atomic power stations had been somewhat "hasty" in their conclusions. But there are some who continue to try to capitalize on the misfortune of another nation. They are trying to squeeze every ounce of sensation out of the subject. Witness how hard the USA Today correspondent worked to get the information he needed out of Dr Robert Gale whose sense of duty as a physician sent him to the Soviet Union in those first critical days after the accident.

USA Today: So you were in a crisis situation?

Gale: Well, I think crisis is not an accurate description. We knew exactly what we were doing. We have been thinking about nuclear accidents for years. It wasn't as if we just woke up and heard about this and said, "Oh, my Gosh! What are we going to do?" It's just that you can only prepare to a certain extent for an accident, and when we moved in there, we went into action quickly.

USA Today: What was the hospital like where you performed the transplants?

Gale: It's a large municipal hospital in Moscow — and it's quite good.

USA Today: An Israeli doctor was quoted as saying the hospital wasn't as sterile as it should have been and there was a problem with infection. Is that true?

Gale: I would suspect that it's a misquoting of the doctor. Since he wasn't really involved in patient care, I doubt he would have made comments about the hospital. The hospital was fine. The Russian physicians were excellent.

USA Today: How open were the Russian medical personnel to your help?

Gale: Completely.

USA Today: Are there any Russian physicians who can continue your work?

Gale: They have physicians who've done transplants in the past, and I'm sure they will continue to do so.

USA Today: Why did they need you then?

Gale: Well, everyone would need additional people, because we have to work together on these things.

Dr Gale's replies do credit to his professional honesty and decency as a human being. Unfortunately one cannot say the same of the leading questions his interviewer and many other representatives of the mass media put.

Our Own Correspondent
New York

About 300 people have been hospitalized with radiation sickness. But none of them come from the power plant area, let alone from Kiev. The foreign visitors would learn about it later from Alexander Lyashko, Chairman of the Ukrainian Council of Ministers. He cited an interesting figure. According to experts, every citizen of Kiev would carry less than one roentgen of radiation in his body by the end of the year. For the sake of comparison, each of us gets from 1 do 13 roentgens during a routine X-ray. So much for the "mass graves" and "piles of contaminated bodies in the streets of the Ukrainian capital" of which "authoritative" sources told the world.

En route to the Makarov dairy farm in the Kiev area we pass through a decontamination zone. We see two notices which say that in addition to the dairy farm the place houses a cheese factory evacuated from Chernobyl. We are met by two hosts at once: Leonid Oleshko, the farm manager, and Nikolai Vinnichuk, the manager of the Chernobyl factory.

They tell us that a radiation check is carried out at least three times: first when milk is received, and then twice while processing it.

We look at the facilities and drop in at the dosimetric laboratory. The laboratory head, Valery Sleshanov, comes from Odessa where he worked in the radiological department at the local veterinary laboratory. He shows the guests how milk is checked for radiation and invites the visitors to taste it. There is some hesitation before a diplomat from the Philippines decides to take the risk. After tasting the milk he gives a thumbs-up sign: it is excellent. I asked Mr Romeo O. Fernandez if he was frightened.

"Why should I feel frightened? I trust your experts, and drinking the milk is my vote of confidence in all the operators who work here."

Radiation control has been established everywhere. During a meeting with Lyashko we were told that 188 stationary observation centres and 38 mobile stations, planes and helicopters were monitoring the air over the Ukraine. Water samples from rivers and lakes are taken every hour. And more than 800 laboratories keep watch over the state of the soil.

"I am coming away with confidence about the health of our Urkainian friends," says Habib Gherab, the Tunisian ambassador. "I have no worries about the health of the 43 of our students who are studying in Kiev. We have seen with our own eyes that the people are determined to overcome the difficulties and that they are continuing to work calmly."

Alexander Lyashko also had something to say to the New Times correspondent.

"This is a very important trip. As the saying goes, it is better to see for oneself. You know how much speculation and fabrication surmises appeared in the Western media. This led some diplomats to mistrust our coverage of the Chernobyl atomic power plant accident. Now they have seen for themselves that we have provided them with truthful and authentic information. They have seen that our people have united in the face of the adversity and are determined to overcome it quickly. They are confident of their future."

On our way back we were stopped in the outskirts of Kiev by people wearing overalls and respirators. They were a contamination control team. The gauge moved slowly over the body of the bus. Then a reassuring wave of the hand: everything is all right, you can go on.

V. GALIN

Kiev Region—Moscow

The Nation Rallies to Help

"We remember the last war, its devastation, and hunger, the orphans, the sick and the dead. Let people in the West know that we Soviet people always stand together in misfortune.... We wish you health, dear comrades, and success in everything you do for the good of all nations. Let the atom always be peaceful." This was how Klavdia and Tatyana Slutskikh of Moscow expressed their feelings in a letter to the victims of Chernobyl. They enclosed 100 rubles.

The whole nation is anxious to share the hardship and relieve the sufferings and temporary privations of the people who lived in the area of the power plant. The government is doing all that is necessary for them. It is taking care of evacuation, housing, and the treatment of the sick, providing jobs, organizing schools and holidays for children and much, much more. However, many people in cities and villages hundreds, thousands and even tens of thousands of kilometres from the site of the accident, are anxious to help personally.

People in the town of Belaya Tserkov were among the first to start collecting clothes for the evacuees. They dispatched two huge Ikarus buses so full of clothes there was hardly room for the accompanying guard. By May 15 they raised 10,000 rubles for relief.

As soon as relief bank accounts were opened, No. 904 at the State Bank of the U.S.S.R. and No. 700624 at the Moscow City Budget Bank, there was a flood of remittances. Most of them were accompanied by short notes: "In relief to the victims of the Chernobyl power plant accident," "For the people of Chernobyl." And the Kuatov family from Karaganda wrote "From our family" on the remittance cheque. The Executive Committee of the Red Cross and Red Crescent Societies of the U.S.S.R., which is where all the remittances sent to account No. 700624 are collected, gives daily information as to how the money is distributed. Thousands of people in the Ukraine have received allowances. All in all, millions of rubles have been donated.

People are trying to make things easier for the people of Chernobyl in every way. They are making their misfortune their own. In the town of Borispol many volunteers are donating blood. A "family to family" movement has started all over the Ukraine. Many families are offering shelter to evacuees and sharing all the basic necessities with them. Pioneer camps and holiday hotels in just one republic, Armenia, will receive 5,000 schoolchildren. Many citizens in Armenian holiday resorts, such as Tsakhkadzor, Dilizhan, and Sevan have offered their homes to children from the Ukraine.

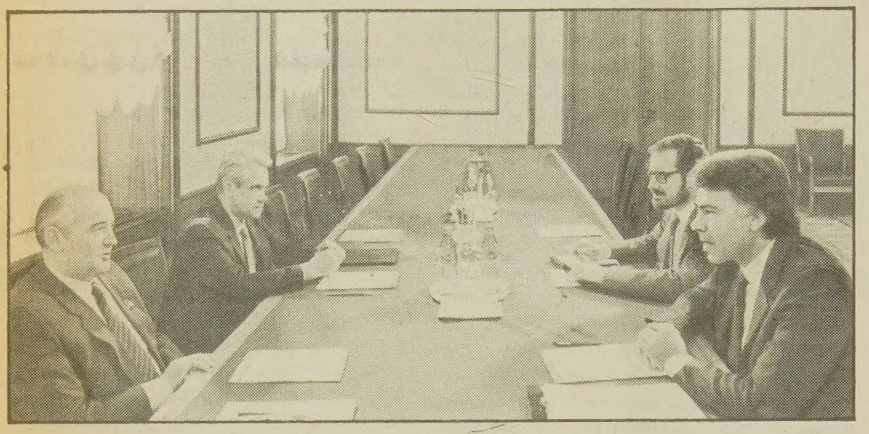
All Soviet people are standing by the victims. None of the victims will want for care and solicitude in the great family that is our nation.

V. ZHITOMIRSKY

Workers at the Azerelektrosvet amalgamation have contributed 7,000 rubles—their aggregate daily wage—to the relief fund.

TASS photo

U.S.S.R.—SPAIN



SHARED OPINION

Politics and business went hand in hand during the recent visit of Prime Minister Felipe Gonzalez of Spain to Moscow. This was the first visit to our country of a Spanish head of government.

The success of this visit will depend on how many minutes the talk between Felipe Gonzalez and Mikhail Gorbachev lasts, the newspaper Diario 16 wrote before the Premier's departure for Moscow. The Spanish Ministry of Foreign Affairs and the Prime Minister's office had worked hard to make the talks with the U.S.S.R. a success for Spanish diplomacy. Special attention, the paper said, had been devoted to drawing up a list of subjects to be discussed by the two leaders. This list included East-West relations, the situation in the Mediterranean and the Middle East, some regional conflicts, the meeting to be held in Vienna as a follow-up to the all-European Conference on Security and Cooperation, and ensuring safety in the peaceful use of nuclear energy.

The exchange of views in the Kremlin showed that Moscow and Madrid have no issues in dispute. Both sides adhere to identical or similar positions on all the questions that were taken up. In the Spanish Premier the Soviet leaders found a collocutor who, as he himself said, is ready to work with realism and perseverance not only to promote bilateral relations but to help to improve the international situation.

Spanish government quarters took a positive view of the arms limitation proposals Mikhail Gorbachev advanced in January this year and in April at the Congress of the Socialist Unity Party of Germany in Berlin, as well as of Moscow's decision to prolong its unilateral moratorium on nuclear tests until August 6 this year. The Moscow talks gave the Soviet side an opportunity once again to set forth the Soviet Union's programme for the prevention of an arms race in outer space, for laying the foundations of a comprehensive system of security extending to the military, political, economic and humanitarian spheres, for the elimination of chemical weapons, and for a radical reduction of conventional armaments and armed forces in Europe. Both sides declared for effort to ensure success at the Stockholm conference which would have a positive effect on the Vienna meeting to be held this coming autumn in the framework of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe.

Prior to the Prime Minister's departure for Moscow, Diario 16 carried a front-page headline reading: "The West hopes that Gonzalez will obtain in Moscow information about Chernobyl." While in Moscow Gonzalez was afforded every opportunity to acquaint himself with the real situation at the Chernobyl nuclear power station and to learn at first hand the details of the proposals for strengthening the international regime of safety in nuclear power development which Mikhail Gorbachev put forward in his May 14 television appearance. On their part, the Soviet leaders voiced appreciation of the sympathy expressed by Spain and its offer of help in overcoming the consequences of the accident.

A prominent place in the talks was occupied by trade and economic cooperation. The Spanish Premier was accompanied by a large group of prominent Spanish businessmen. They had a great many things to discuss. For one thing, the level of the two countries' commercial contacts no longer measures up to present requirements. The Spanish businessmen evinced keen interest in the Soviet 12th five-year plan, which opens wide opportunities for the further development and qualitative improvement of bilateral economic cooperation.

Regrettably, Spain's entry into the Common Market has resulted in the imposition, under pressure from its partners, of harsh restrictions on the purchase of many Soviet industrial goods. Nevertheless, Moscow is confident that, given a mutual desire to promote trade, openings will always be found for new ideas and initiatives. The Soviet Union, the newspaper Pais stresses, offers big opportunities in the economic, scientific and cultural spheres. The example of Rome, which has concluded agreements with the U.S.S.R. in all these spheres and whose trade with it exceeds the volume of Spanish-Soviet trade sevenfold, could serve as a model to follow, the paper comments. "We want our relations to develop further in order to make up for lost time," Gonzalez said.

"The results of my visit to the Soviet Union are positive in every respect," the Spanish Prime Minister stressed. This opinion is shared in Moscow.

L. MAKAREVICH

Photo: Mikhail Gorbachev and Felipe Gonzalez meet.

TASS photo

NATO

THE ATLANTIC TARTUFFES

The Belgian paper Le Soir reviewed the spring sessions of the NATO military bodies in an article entitled "Molière in NATO." Indeed, these sessions were a striking example of the duplicity and hypocrisy the great French dramatist exposed in his plays. "We can expand the limits of our conscience," Molière's Tartuffe said, "if it proves too constricting." The NATO Tartuffes have expanded the "limits of conscience" on more than one occasion.

At press conferences they groundlessly accused the U.S.S.R. of all mortal

sins, held forth about the "Soviet threat," Moscow's hankering for military supremacy (and its even having attained it), and the Soviet side's failure to observe the agreements reached. At the same time, they heaped lavish praise on their own commitment to peace.

In the Defence Planning Committee's communiqué the defence ministers of the NATO countries professed their desire for peace agreements and "progress" in arms reduction, but passed over the Soviet proposals in silence as if they did not exist. The Atlantic discussions produced no new initiatives conducive to practical measures to curb the arms race. On the other hand, the same communiqué contains a long list of provisions for a further rise in military spending and an increase in the fighting capacity of the NATO armed forces.

The Brussels sessions discussed the "European defence initiative"—an appendage of the American SDI. Aware that most West Europeans do not favour the idea, the Atlanticists tried to camouflage it beyond recognition. In their communiqué the NATO defence ministers present the anti-ballistic missile facilities to be set up in Europe as an innocent improvement of the existing air defence system. Nevertheless, the ABMs are supposed to intercept any airborne targets, "including tactical missiles."

U.S. plans to start producing new-generation, binary, chemical weapons were among the main subjects of the defence ministers' discussions. The final communiqué omitted them, however. Fearing a new wave of protest, the Atlantic strategists decided to keep their plans to develop chemical weapons out of the public eye. "We have tried to avoid having this issue become a political football in Europe," David M. Abshire, the U.S. permanent representative in NATO, admitted. In other words, the Americans and their partners haven't forgotten about the West Europeans kicking back the neutron bomb, and are taking no risks this time. They have included the production of new-generation chemical weapons in U.S. national plans. According to the weekly NATO Report, "there is normally little debate or public attention or virtually no provision for disapproval" of these plans by the allies.

The trick worked, but not too smoothly. Norway, the Netherlands and some other countries accepted the plans with reservations and warned the United States that they would not deploy binary systems on their territories. On the whole, however, the West European ministers did not venture an unequivocal rejection of the plans to produce new weapons. The papers explained this away by their unwillingness to interfere in U.S. internal affairs. Writing in the International Herald Tribune, Mark O. Hatfield, chairman of the Senate Appropriation Committee, pointed to the shortsightedness of this approach. Binary weapons, the Senator stressed, "are intended almost exclusively for use in the European theatre." Therefore, "unless there is a vigorous public debate now, West Europeans are likely to find nerve gas weapons deployed on their soil in the near future."

While giving new-generation chemical weapons the green light, the NATO defence ministers recorded in the communiqué their professed determination to work for an early comprehensive ban on chemical weapons. Their call to the U.S.S.R. "to take a more constructive attitude towards effective verification provisions" sounds especially hypocritical. After all, the Soviet Union has repeatedly proclaimed, at high level, its readiness to accept thoroughgoing control over disarmament, on-the-spot inspection included.

"Politics and morality do not get on too well in NATO," the newspaper La Libre Belgique remarked the other day. Well, Atlantic policy and the truth hardly get on at all.

V. BOIKOV
Trud correspondent,
exclusive for New Times

Brussels

U.S.S.R.—SWEDEN

LOOKING INTO THE FUTURE

The 14th session of the intergovernmental Soviet-Swedish commission for economic, scientific and technological cooperation was held in Stockholm on May 20-23. Our special correspondent asked Vladislav MALKEVICH, Deputy Foreign Trade Minister of the U.S.S.R. and Soviet co-chairman of the commission, to comment on the results of the four-day meeting.

The sessions of the intergovernmental commission have long been a useful and effective forum from which to review Soviet-Swedish cooperation and determine guidelines for its further development. I must stress, however, that this year's session was preceded by a visit to Moscow by Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson who met Mikhail Gorbachev and Nikolai Ryzhkov and had talks with them. We therefore concentrated on ways of implementing the agreements reached during that visit with a view to expanding and diversifying our ties in various fields.

On the whole, the substance of these ties was defined (and this was greatly appreciated in Sweden) in the guidelines of economic and social development of the U.S.S.R. adopted by the 27th Congress of the CPSU. The Soviet commitment to making production more effective and accelerating scientific and technological progress opens up great opportunities for our Swedish partners, who are among the world's leaders in the field of science-intensive industries and technologies.

It was stated at the session that Soviet-Swedish trade and economic cooperation should take not only the generally accepted, classic form of buying and selling goods, but also that of technological exchange, cooperation in the joint manufacture and marketing of products, and large-scale compensation projects. It is no fortuity that we now speak not only of scientific and technological, but also scientific-production cooperation.

Wide and varied areas exist for such cooperation. They include the participation of Swedish firms in the creation of the Soviet agro-industrial complex, extraction and processing of minerals in the Kola Peninsula, the introduction of resource-saving processes as part of the programme to modernize the ferrous and nonferrous metallurgy, chemical, petrochemical, pulp and paper and construction industries. They also include cooperation in developing and introducing automatic control systems, flexible technologies, the use of biotechnological methods in industry, and much else.

Our partners are interested in such cooperation and in developing new forms thereof. This was apparent at the session where the Swedish side was represented by Thage Peterson, the Industry Minister, and during talks with businessmen.

I would like to stress that the development and deepening of Soviet-Swedish cooperation was the focus of the discussion with Prime Minister Ingvar Carlsson on the day following the opening session. It was stressed that the

mutual benefits deriving from our co-operation and many years of experience open up broad perspectives for both sides.

We also met Birgitta Dahl, Minister at the Ministry of Industry (Energy), to discuss cooperation in ensuring safety at nuclear power plants, and in the field of energetics and energy saving. Both sides expressed their interest in the drafting of agreements in this sphere. I must make a special point of the fact that the proposals announced by Mikhail Gorbachev in his appearance on Soviet television on May 14 have met with approval and support in Sweden.

It can safely be said that the long-term programme of cooperation up to 1990, the extension of the trade agreement for a further 10 years, and the recently signed agreements on coastal trade and credits all show that our business ties have a solid foundation and have attained a high level of late. And this opens up qualitatively new opportunities and unquestionably contributes to relations of trust and good-neighbourliness between the U.S.S.R. and Sweden.

Y. GUDKOV

Stockholm

THE HORN OF AFRICA

SIGNS OF A THAW

A meeting of the joint Ethiopian-Somali committee on the normalization of the bilateral relations took place in the Ethiopian capital Addis Ababa in the first half of May. The delegations of the two countries, led by their foreign ministers, discussed the agenda for the work of the committee. It will be considered further at the next meeting in Mogadishu, the capital of Somalia.

The Addis Ababa meeting between representatives of the two neighbouring countries, which are virtually at war with each other, is evidence of a certain warming up of the political climate in the area of the Horn of Africa.

The main reason for the tension is the expansionist policy of the Somali leadership which refuses to recognize the frontiers with neighbouring states inasmuch as it seeks to join parts of Ethiopia, Kenya and Djibouti inhabited by Somalis in what they call the Greater Somalia. Somalia lays claim to about one third of the territory of Ethiopia, for example.

In 1977, after the failure of their attempts to undermine the Ethiopian revolution of 1974 from within and impede the country's pursuance of a socialist orientation, imperialist quarters and Arab reactionaries incited the expansionist nationalistic elements in Somalia to take armed action against Ethiopia. In March 1978, with the internationalist support of the U.S.S.R., Cuba, the G.D.R. and other countries of the socialist community, the people of Ethiopia drove the invaders from their land.

However, Somalia did not give up its territorial claims. It virtually allied itself with the United States by granting the Pentagon military bases on its territory. American military and financial aid to Mogadishu, the support of its designs by Arab reactionaries were one of the main causes of the tension in the Horn of Africa.

The Ethiopian leadership, on the other hand, anxious to create favourable conditions for socio-economic reforms, exerted every effort to normalize the situation in the region.

A spur to a change for the better in Somali-Ethiopian relations was given by the meeting in Djibouti in mid-January of the constituent assembly of the intergovernmental organization to combat the drought and for the development of the countries of East Africa. It was attended by the leaders of six East African countries. It was there that talks between the Ethiopian leader Mengistu Haile Mariam and the President of Somalia Mohamed Siad Barre took place, at which an understanding was reached on the beginning of a dialogue aimed at improving relations between the two countries. It was decided to set up a joint committee for the purpose. In April Mengistu Haile Mariam announced that the good will displayed by the Somali government in the matter of developing mutually advantageous cooperation on the basis of good-neighbourship was a good beginning which Ethiopia would support. The Somali Minister of Foreign Affairs Abdurrahman Jama Barre who came to Addis Ababa in May said Somalia was firmly resolved to find a firm solution for the disagreements existing between the two countries.

The Soviet Union, which invariably supports the struggle of the newly free countries to end their backwardness and resist imperialist policy of diktat, stands for the speediest establishment of a stable peace and good-neighbour relations between Ethiopia and Somalia.

V. SHARAYEV

DOMINICAN REPUBLIC

SHIFT TO THE RIGHT?

In mid-May there was a general election in the Dominican Republic. Political events in that small country with a population of some six million situated in the very heart of the Caribbean have invariably attracted attention, especially since 1965 when the U.S. government invaded the country, sending 40,000 marines and paratroopers to Santo Domingo. The occupiers imposed the rule of a reactionary military clique, the landowning oligarchy and the influential pro-imperialist bourgeoisie.

The interests of these sections are represented by the Reformist Party. Its leader, Joaquin Balaguer, has been prominent in the political history of Santo Domingo. After becoming president following the general election of 1966, held under American occupation, he abolished the constitution which contained some progressive provisions. During his rule left-wing parties, especially the Communists, were persecuted and victimized with various repressive measures. The regime murdered hundreds of its opponents.

Since 1978, however, the country has been ruled by the social-democratic Revolutionary Party (PRD). The PRD includes in its ranks members of the urban and rural petty bourgeoisie and the intelligentsia. Its presidential candidate was Jacobo Majluta, who also has the

backing of five other political organizations.

The third most important protagonist in the elections was the centrist Liberation Party whose stand on international and domestic issues is anti-imperialist. Its candidate, Juan Bosch, is also a former president.

Since 1978 the reformists have been twice defeated at the polls by the PRD. This time, with more than 90 per cent of the votes counted, it was announced that Balaguer was in the lead.

How is the result to be interpreted? Why did Balaguer, who, to put it mildly, did not write the most glorious pages in his country's history, win approximately the same number of votes as Majluta? The answer probably lies in the extremely unsatisfactory state of the country's economy. Ignoring its own programme, the PRD has signed a crippling agreement with the International Monetary Fund and has constantly given in to pressure from it. This has led to growing poverty and widespread unrest. On social issues, it has abandoned centre-left positions.

A. BARYSHEV

U.S.A.

...AND DOSSIERS ON CHILDREN?

On Saturday, May 25, millions of Americans formed a human chain stretching from the West to the East Coast. Each contributed from 10 to 35 dollars to take part in the Hands Across America campaign the purpose of which was to help many millions more of their compatriots who are starving and homeless. Its sponsors made no secret of the fact that children are in greatest need of help. In the period from 1980 to 1985, the number of those below the so-called "poverty line" rose catastrophically—from 29.3 million to 34 million, with children constituting 3.4 million of the figure.

All parents love their children, of course, and American parents are no exception. In needy families children are always given the best portions. But how does American society, which congratulates itself on its affluence, treat those often referred to as the future of the nation? I tried to find out from Mary Kelley, organizer of the New York end of the campaign.

Why is it that while the U.S. economy is undergoing changes and big businessmen are lining their pockets, the number of starving and homeless children continues to grow? (This year 80 per cent of U.S. cities will need emergency food relief on a larger scale.) Why is the government cutting food coupon benefits? Mary Kelley had no answers to these questions. I was advised to apply to the White House for explanations. A week before, the President had expounded the essence of the problem to senior-graders at an American high school. He said: "I don't believe that there is anyone going hungry in America simply by reason of denial or lack of ability to feed them, it is by people not knowing where or how to get help." Even granted that there is a grain of truth in this strange formula, the Administration has not lifted a finger to explain to new millions of needy Americans where help is to be had and how to receive it.

At the eleventh hour the President was persuaded to take part in the Hands Across America campaign, if only to make up for his clumsy statement. The writer Richard Krawiec had participants like him in mind when he commented, some time before, that the campaign was "a way for middle and upper-class folk who don't really want to face the particular situations of poverty to pretend they're being compassionate while washing their hands of any personal responsibility."

It remains true that this show of solicitude, which can provide the needy with at best a couple of sandwiches, won't make life any easier for a fifth of American children whose chronic condition is one of stark poverty. That's how much American society cares for its children.

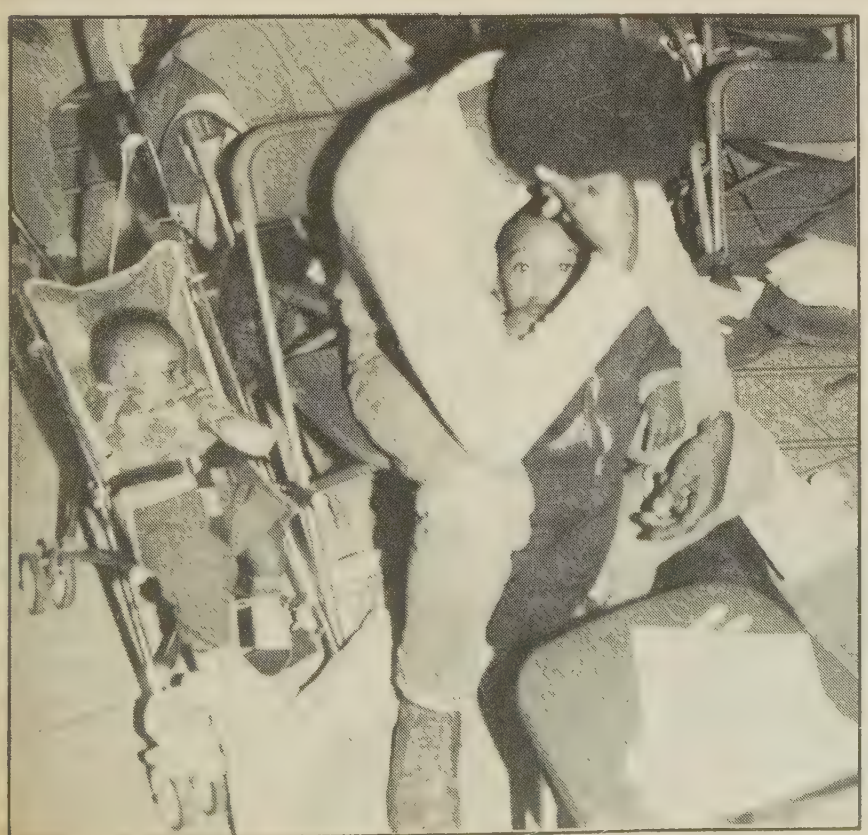
Another indication of its concern is the practice of keeping files on ten-year-old Americans. At a get-together of Soviet and American children in the Children for Worldwide Peace movement a schoolboy my daughter's age told her he had been on the FBI's files for years for having taken part in a peace demonstration with his parents.

Indeed, children feel that only in a peaceful world can their dreams come true.

Our Own Correspondent
New York

Charity handouts don't seem to do this family man much good.

TASS photo



The Secret Springs of the "Reagan Doctrine"

PITCH IN TO HELP NEOGLOBALISM! ● THE SECRET OF ROOM 208 ● WILLIAM CASEY'S ENTHUSIASM ● THE "VERTICAL" THRUST ● WHY THE PANICKY LETTERS?

What only does the mail of the New Times New York office not contain! Apart from newspapers and magazines, there are alluring offers of dubious lotteries, invitations to seminars and press conferences, letters soliciting contributions in aid of homeless or hungry Americans. But this was the first time I received a request for a contribution in aid of President Reagan. I checked to see whether it was really addressed to me. It was.

"Dear friend," the letter from one John M. Fisher, President of the American Security Council, began. "I urgently need your help to back President Reagan. He is under enormous pressure to agree to a disastrous arms control compromise with the Russians when Soviet leader Mikhail Gorbachev comes to our nation's capitol." President Reagan, Mr Fisher confided, "relies on patriotic citizens like you to help back him on defence issues." Enclosed of course was the usual request for a donation of $500 or more. Mr Fisher quotes President Reagan as saying: "This will be our toughest fight yet. That's why I am so grateful to the American Security Council for your willingness to pitch in and help me see it through."

Let us dismiss as a computer error the fact that a New Times correspondent got on Mr Fisher's mailing list. The important thing is that it gave us a glimpse behind the scenes of American foreign policy and enabled us to obtain firsthand information about the lengths the present Administration proposes to go and the forces it relies on.

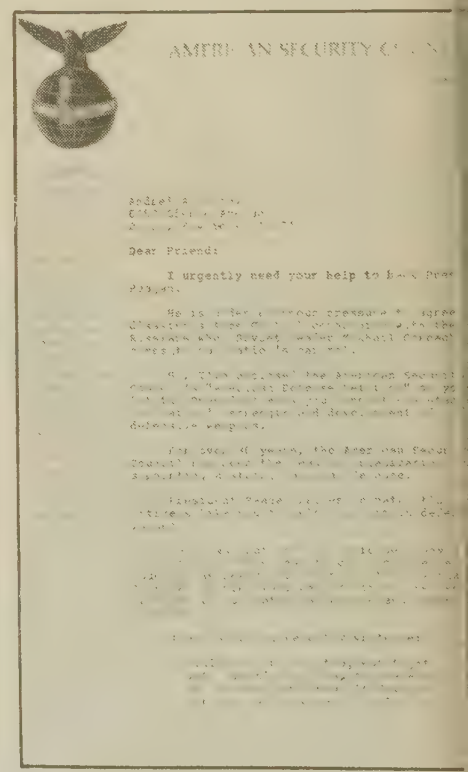
Room 208

Actually, diplomacy occupies a very specific place in American foreign policy, as is evidenced not only by recent events—shattered city blocks of the Libyan capital, for instance. American diplomacy has long since been content with the role of handmaiden to the military, eager to see it go into action.

Colonel H. G. Summers, Jr, of the U.S. News and World Report puts it in plain, soldierly language: "The State Department," he says, "tends to see combat divisions, aircraft-carrier battle groups, and fighter squadrons as tools of diplomacy." Never mind talks and consultations, confabs of experts in kid gloves at diplomatic receptions. The State Department is ready to use all the abovementioned tools of diplomacy "to show the flag, to threaten, to conduct 'surgical' military strikes, to send diplomatic (sic) signals to friend and foe alike of America's power and influence in the world." The formula expressed by General Matthew Ridgway more than 30 years ago, "the soldier is the statesman's junior partner," is still operative. The only difference is the direction in which American power is pointed and to whom the threat of its use is addressed.

To the military-diplomatic symbiosis there now is being added, more actively than ever before, a third element—the means and methods of the espionage department. Former banker and lawyer and now CIA director William Casey has established himself firmly in the Reagan cabinet. The extent of his influence on the shaping of U.S. foreign policy is considered comparable only to the power wielded in the fifties by Allen Dulles. Casey's influence and, as one paper put it, his "personal enthusiasm" are manifest not only in the elaboration of plans for new military adventures. The CIA is beginning to compete with the Pentagon in the practical performance of the functions of a world policeman. As a matter of fact, the subversive role of the CIA in regard to Nicaragua and Angola, Kampuchea and Afghanistan is not concealed. For these so-called "covert" operations alone the legislators give the spy agency more than $500 million annually.

The old executive office building in Washington is shown to tourists as an architectural sight. But what merits the greatest attention in this building is not visible from the street. Behind the solid doors of Room 208 undersecretaries of state and defence, the deputy national security adviser to the President, and top intelligence officers meet. This nameless committee is vested with powers of which the supermen of the screen could not even dream: they direct the development of regional conflicts. For this is the headquarters of the "new American secret diplomacy." It selects the weaponry for undeclared wars and decides what secret storage facilities or airstrips are to be used. It sets budgets, goals, and timetables for each operation, again with the CIA as the principal agent.



Dear Friends:

I urgently need your help to back Pres

"Send donations for neoglobalism!" is the gist of a letter to the New Times' New York office.

This headquarters attends to the practical shaping of U.S. foreign policy in conformity with the concept of neoglobalism, now more often called the "Reagan doctrine." Senate sources, which closely follow the foreign policy intonations of the White House, des-

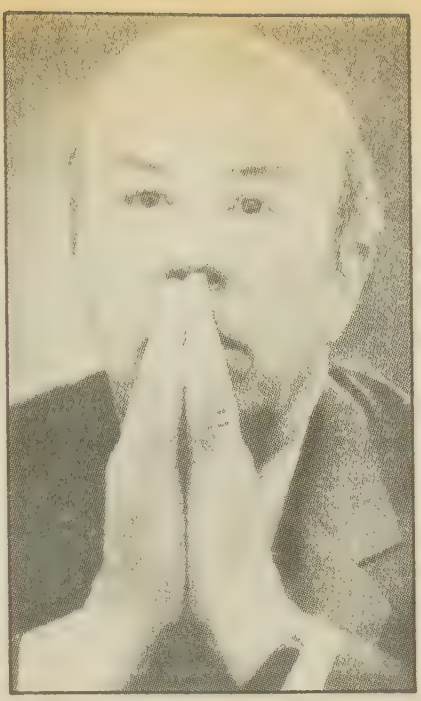
cribed in a talk with your correspondent the substance of this concept as an attempt to shift the "rivalry and conflicts with the Soviet Union" to the territory of third countries, where the Administration believes it could gain military and, subsequently, diplomatic advantages. For the public, however, the situation is presented behind the smoke screen of "combating terrorism."

The cutthroats funded by the CIA are called "freedom fighters." The architects of neoglobalism capitalize on the ignorance of most Americans as regards the meaning of the terminology used. The U.S. Department of Justice, for instance, defined terrorism in 1984 as "violent criminal conduct apparently intended: (a) to intimidate or coerce a civilian population, (b) to influence the conduct of a government by intimidation or coercion, or (c) to affect the conduct of a government by assassination or kidnapping." These are the very methods used by the U.S. hirelings against the Nicaraguan government, and by the Afghan counterrevolutionaries financed by the CIA against the Afghan revolution. To the accompaniment of lying explanations designed to reassure the public the bandits are armed with up-to-date weapons, such as the self-guided Stinger missiles, and Defence Secretary Caspar Weinberger has placed a $40 billion order for a new combination helicopter and airplane to help the U.S. Marines perform their police functions.

Shades of Wilson

To please the present Washington leaders they are often given credit for overcoming the Vietnam syndrome—the state of national shock caused by the defeat in the dirty war in Indo-China combined with the fear of again being involved in a similar adventure. One can believe that the Vietnam syndrome has been overcome, only if one closes one's eyes to the fact that in the Florida hinterland, the Hawaiian Islands and on the northwest coast of the U.S. there still are scores of veterans of that war who have not been able to readapt themselves to the society that sent them on their killer mission. One of them is Ricky Shaw, who recently marked his 37th birthday in the Florida "jungles." The wounds on his body healed long ago, but, as he says himself, "there are deeper, imbedded scars, and they are hard to heal. They sent us over there when we were so young and stupid we didn't know how to clean our guns. Well, a lot of the pieces in us scattered and we can't put them back together."

Are those who say that the "syndrome" is gone aware of this? No doubt. This would explain the coining of such terms as "high-frequency warfare" and "low-intensity warfare" as a prelude to new adventures. Don't worry, it is said, the fighting will be done by others, and there will be no major conflagration. But suppose there will be? Surely it is not by chance that Green Berets and Rangers are being trained at military bases in the Panama Canal Zone, where they are taught "survival techniques" and instructed in how to act if taken prisoner.



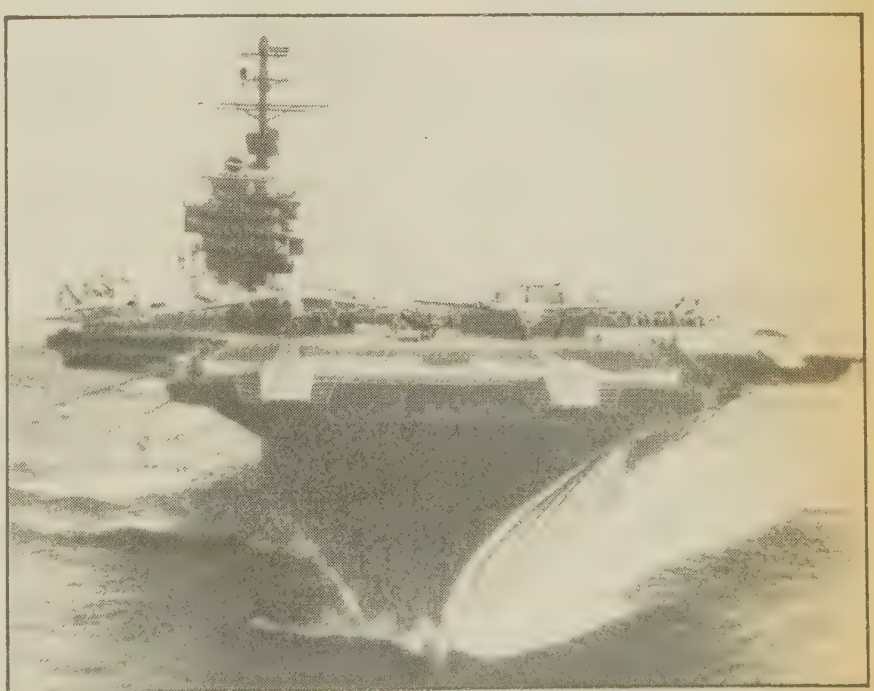
U.S. Secretary of State George Shultz: diplomacy...

Where is the dividing line between "low" and "high" intensity warfare? The Pentagon has conducted a special seminar on the subject. One participant in it has this to say: "What we are talking about is something that goes on below the level of what I think we can get a common understanding of what we mean by conventional warfare, when conventional forces are committed and confront each other. So that would be the threshold, and those activities which go on under that threshold would fall within that overall term of low-intensity conflict. It could be terrorism. It could be other forms of banditry, any actions that would constitute a conscious effort to displace an established government."

What flexibility! It is tantamount to a reassertion by the White House of its claim to the right to interfere in the internal affairs of sovereign states, to wage undeclared wars against them, the right to pursue a policy which, even according to the American definition, is terrorism. The Reagan Administration wants to use force whenever it pleases, and it looks to its lawyers to provide a cover, the New York Times comments on the juggling with legal formulations.

But how much in the "new" doctrine is really new? The abovementioned Summers notes that the U.S. is returning to the "fundamentals of containment policy." In the foreign policy of the present Administration one can discern echoes also of other "former"

...at the service of neoglobalism. The aircraft carrier America off Libya's shores.



doctrines. And it is not difficult to trace their common source, as the journal Foreign Affairs did: "This [the new doctrine.—A. A.] puts Ronald Reagan firmly in the older American anti-communist tradition of Woodrow Wilson, who, preaching non-intervention, put American troops ashore at Archangel and Vladivostok. That effort to strangle the Russian revolution conferred a Wilsonian pedigree on subsequent attempts to undo Marxist regimes."

The Whole Doctrine or Part of It?

It is noteworthy that while everybody in Washington is talking about the "Reagan doctrine," the President himself has not used the term once.

Why? Because for those on whom the present Administration relies "low-intensity conflicts," in which their interests are so far upheld at the cost of other people's blood, are advantageous. They are an excellent means for extracting from legislators and the taxpayers billions for arms production in peacetime. They are a handout to that part of the military-industrial complex which battens on conventional arms and feels somewhat out of place in this nuclear missile age. They are a testing ground for the Pentagon's novelties. And they keep the propaganda pot boiling and spreading the poison of chauvinism so badly needed to deceive the discontented in the United States itself. Lastly, they give the green light to the ideologues of anti-communism whose predictions of an early end to socialism and the national liberation movements have come to grief.

Nevertheless, the President is in no hurry. The reason evidently is that all this is only a fragment of a much more far-reaching and dangerous doctrine concocted in the White House in the years of the past several Republican Administrations. To be more exact, the "horizontal" aspect of this doctrine. Recall the surprise worldwide last autumn when, as he was preparing for the Geneva meeting, President Reagan, speaking at the United Nations, suddenly made the most urgent issues of nuclear disarmament dependent on the settlement of regional conflicts. The further elaboration of the theory of "low-intensity conflicts" and its practical tryouts in Libya, Angola, Afghanistan at the same time serve as a screen behind which the Washington strategists are out to hang a Damocles sword over the planet by stepping up the development of their "star wars" system. And to sustain the artificial "linkages," conflicts on different continents have to be constantly fanned.

The second, "vertical" aspect of the Washington doctrine fully explains why it is called neoglobalism. The idea is to deploy the instruments of foreign policy—which now include also laser and particle beam weapons—in outer space in hopes of being able to bring the whole globe under U.S. diktat, to order the whole world after the American pattern. The illusory notion of world domination which has possessed more than one generation of American politicians has acquired a nuclear and space colouring. No secret is made here of the fact that the design is pivoted on U.S. technological advantage and the orbiting with all speed of "invulnerable" first-strike weapons with a view to gaining decisive superiority. Meanwhile, the nuclear weapons buildup goes on. Hence the Washington opposition to all constructive steps to remove the nuclear threat. Until SDI is realized the U.S. cannot do without nuclear weapons, Caspar Weinberger said not long ago.

Without Due Support

Washington is going ahead with the shaping of its doctrine with unconcealed arrogance and demonstrative disregard for the rest of the world community. Why, then, does the right find it necessary to send Americans panicky letters such as I received?

"Except in a few sensible and intelligent places... the Reagan doctrine doesn't seem to be attracting the support it deserves," laments the right-wing conservative mouthpiece National Review. The fact is that more and more Americans are questioning the wisdom of foreign policy ambitions originating in what one prominent expert on world affairs called "woolly-headed flights of fantasy."

In the opinion of Senator Paul Simon, whose office I contacted by phone, the "star wars" programme in no way hastens the opening of the much-vaunted opportunities the Administration expects to acquire in the indefinite future. More, SDI does not help in the slightest in arms limitation talks and hence should be returned to the laboratory stage at which it was until 1983 (when Reagan announced his space war plans); it is essential to observe the limits set in the ABM treaty. Simon is one of the legislators who have urged the U.S. to negotiate with the Soviet Union a mutually verifiable agreement on the ending of all nuclear weapon tests.

The Senator from Illinois and many of his colleagues in Congress do not share the official view also as regards the "horizontal" aspect of the doctrine. In their opinion funds should not be allocated for military aid to the contras, diplomatic methods should be used in the Middle East, and pressure exerted on South Africa to improve mutual understanding with Angola, inasmuch as indiscriminate aid to all groups of rebels who call themselves anti-communists is not necessarily in the best interests of America.

Clearly discernible in this position is the realism so necessary in the present extremely tense situation—a realism that duly appraises the United States' weight and role in the international arena and recognizes the necessity of coexistence as the only guarantee of global development, the only safeguard against global destruction.

Moscow offers the U.S. cooperation. Not as a weak supplicant, but out of a sense of responsibility, concern for the interests of all the peoples of the world. Will the Washington strategists find the political courage to recognize the reality? As the World Policy Journal did when it said that a foreign policy that pursues U.S. national interests consists in "pulling back from a preoccupation with the Soviet threat, reducing military expenditure, relying on increased cooperation with our allies, establishing more constructive links to the Third World, restricting the freedom of multinational capital, deemphasizing nuclear weapons, and deepening détente with the Soviet Union."

A. ARKHIPOV
Our Own Correspondent

Washington—New York

Photos from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.) and UPI (U.S.A.)

Space Umbrella for Earth Wars

When news came from Washington in early May that U.S. Defence Secretary Weinberger and Israeli Defence Minister Rabin had signed an agreement on cooperation on the Strategic Defence Initiative (SDI), few eyebrows were raised. Tel Aviv, Washington's "strategic ally" in all its adventures in the Middle East, has long been anxious to contribute to the preparation of "star wars" on which the United States has embarked. This is logical in the context of U.S.-Israeli relations in which Israel is a guardian of U.S. imperialist interests in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. In return, the Washington Administration, the American military-industrial complex and the banks are offering political, military and economic assistance to the Zionist state.

The signing of the agreement on SDI referred to as the "understanding memorandum" (see issue No. 20, 1986) is a further step in the development of strategic cooperation between the U.S. and Israel. Israel has now become the United States' third partner in "star wars" after the F.R.G. and Britain, which have signed similar agreements.

However, Tel Aviv already has a history of cooperation with Washington in making military use of outer space. American spy satellites have kept the Israeli military supplied with important intelligence information about Arab countries for years. An American laser tracking station was commissioned near Jerusalem last October.

It is worth mentioning that before the memorandum was signed, Israel had developed and handed to Washington some 30 draft projects connected with SDI. There is evidence that many Israeli companies are hoping to profit from Washington's contracts. Initially, they hope to get $150 million worth of SDI-related contracts and in the longer term, billions of dollars are involved. Self-interest is combined with military aspirations.

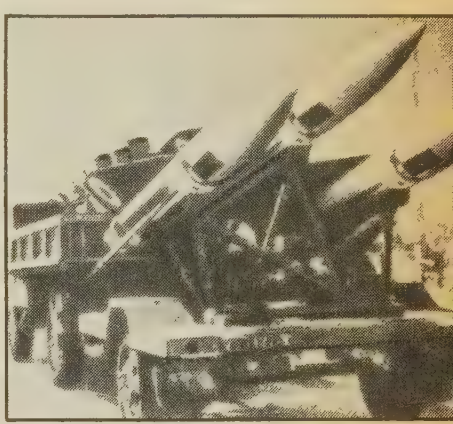
The Washington Post writes: "Israel is more interested in adapting SDI technology to its conventional defence needs, chiefly shooting down short-range ballistic missiles based in Syria."

So Tel Aviv, like Washington, hopes to hide under the SDI "umbrella" from possible retaliation for missile strikes on Arab countries. And while Washington hopes to use this "umbrella" to dictate its will to the world, Israel is planning to do the same in the Middle East and the Mediterranean. Arab newspapers write that by becoming involved in SDI, Israel is associating itself with the aggressive NATO bloc, something its rulers have long dreamed of. The Lebanese newspaper An-Nida writes that the American-Israeli memorandum "elevates Israel's policy of aggression from the regional to the international level."

Communists in Israel are resolutely opposed to Israel's involvement in SDI. The Politbureau of the Israeli Communist Party's Central Committee has declared that the move is "another manifestation of the adventurist policy of the present Israeli cabinet. Tel Aviv's involvement in these dangerous plans [SDI—**E. K.**] is a provocative anti-Soviet act. It threatens to turn the region into an arena of nuclear confrontation." The statement goes on: "Peace and the future of Israel make imperative support for the peaceful initiatives of the Soviet Union, notably, its proposal on the general and complete elimination of nuclear weapons. They also make the signing of the nuclear non-proliferation treaty essential. It is no fortuity that Israel's agreement to take part in 'star wars' is accompanied by threats by the American Administration and the Israeli leaders to launch a direct attack on Syria. This spells more bloodshed and represents a threat to the very existence of Israel."

The rulers of the Zionist state, which has many bloody crimes against humanity on its conscience, should heed this stern warning. No one has ever got away with playing with fire. And Israel, by backing Washington's reckless policy which is pushing the world towards the abyss, shares with the U.S. Administration full responsibility for the criminal course towards a nuclear holocaust.

The Soviet statement issued in connection with Israel's joining the American Strategic Defence Initiative was a forceful reminder to Tel Aviv of its responsibility not only to the people of Israel but to the whole of mankind. The statement again sharply criticizes SDI and reiterates the warning about the grave danger posed by the militarization of outer space to mankind's hopes of seeing the planet free of nuclear weapons before the end of this millennium. The Soviet Union declares that those who are joining SDI must be aware of the responsibility they are assuming. The Soviet side, reads the statement, expects the Israeli government to draw corresponding conclusions and decide against spreading the arms race to outer space and in favour of universal security.



Moving towards "star wars." U.S. Hawk missiles on parade in Tel Aviv.

This appeal expresses the aspirations not only of the Soviet people, but also of the people of Israel and the whole Middle East region, and men of good will the world over whose existence is threatened by those who are planning "star wars" and those who join them in these plans.

E. KORSHUNOV

FOLLOWING THE NEOGLOBALIST EXAMPLE

The inhuman apartheid system which still prevails in South Africa is trying to prolong its existence by resorting to brutal repressions within the country, and aggressive sallies against neighbouring frontline states, with the aim of intimidating them and forcing them to stop supporting the just cause of the South African patriots.

The latest carefully planned operation was the bandit raid on May 19 by the South African military on three neighbouring countries — Zambia, Zimbabwe and Botswana.

Pretoria's piratical action evoked a storm of indignation everywhere. The apartheid system cannot be modified, changed or reformed, it must be destroyed once and for all. That is the opinion of Rajiv Gandhi, Prime Minister of India and chairman of the non-aligned movement. The government of Argentina has broken off diplomatic relations with Pretoria and Canada has withdrawn its ambassador from there.

The Soviet government has strongly condemned the criminal attacks by the South African racists on Botswana, Zambia and Zimbabwe. In the interests of a peaceful future for our planet, the Soviet Union's official statement says, the demand of the world community that far-reaching sanctions be applied to the South African racist regime in conformity with Article VII of the United Nations Charter must at long last be complied with.

The bandit actions of the South Africa authorities caused such an angry reaction in the U.S. and Western Europe that even Washington and London had to make public statements of condemnation. But this was sheer hypocrisy. The U.S. and British representatives in the U.N. Security Council used the veto to block a resolution calling for economic and other sanctions to be imposed on the apartheid state. These two powers have again shown themselves to be patrons of the racist regime and virtual accomplices in its crimes. The racist leader Pieter Botha put it bluntly when he said: "We did exactly what the U.S. did in Libya." The neoglobalists have thus set an example.

Below we publish several reports on the South African bandit raids on the territory of three independent states.

● **ZIMBABWE**

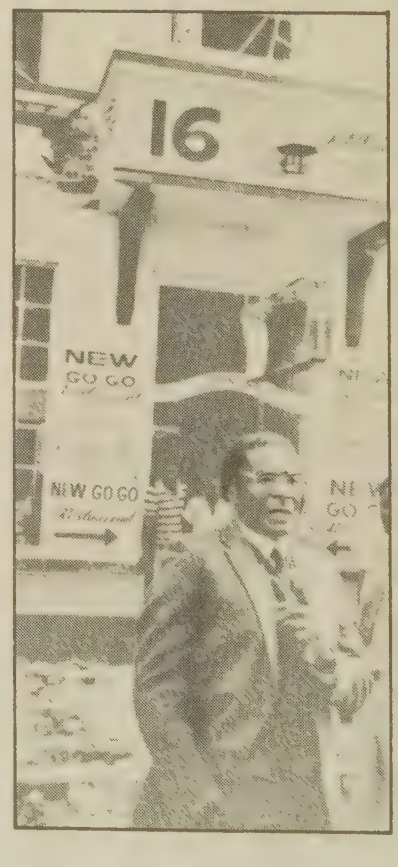
EXPLOSION ON ANGWA STREET

The people of the Zimbabwe capital had just seen off Indian Prime Minister and chairman of the non-aligned movement Rajiv Gandhi who had been there on an official visit. The streets still wore their festive garb. The holding in Harare in late August of the eighth conference of the heads of states and governments of the non-aligned countries had been discussed during the talks. At a joint press conference Zimbabwe Prime Minister Mugabe had stressed that it was not excluded that the racist regime of South Africa would try to prevent the holding of this conference which would focus attention on the heightening of tension in southern Africa as a result of the aggressive terrorist policy of Pretoria.

Few suspected that day that South African task forces were already in combat readiness for a bandit raid on a neighbouring country. On the night of May 18 two powerful explosions shook the centre of Harare and its environs. Several hours later Lieutenant General Liebenberg, commander of the South African army, announced in Pretoria that "South African troops had struck at an operational centre of the African National Congress of South Africa at No. 16 Angwa Street in the centre of the Zimbabwe capital and at a terrorists' transit camp near Ashdown Park on the outskirts of the city."

It was an ordinary working day in Harare. People hurried as usual to work, exchanging the latest news on the way. But two blocks from the Harare office of TASS on Angwa Street the military police stopped all traffic. Behind the cordon one could see a small building on the first floor of which was the ANC mission, the charred and twisted window frames and the street below littered with broken glass and bricks.

Like other newsmen I had had occasion to visit this building several times and talked with the mission's head Reddy Marimba and his three assistants. What the racist general had described as the "operational centre" of the terrorists consisted of a few small rooms with desks, a telex and heaps of the magazines and pamphlets the organization put out. As for their "transit camp" that had been completely



Prime Minister Robert Mugabe of Zimbabwe inspecting the scene of the Angwa Street bomb outrage.
TASS photo

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● ZAMBIA

WHAT THE TARGETS REALLY WERE

Here is what happened. On the morning of May 19 South African saboteurs, dressed in the uniform of Zambian policemen, drove up in two cars to the Makeni refugee camp on the outskirts of Lusaka and shelled it, after which two South African planes dropped about 30 shrapnel bombs on the camp.

Wrecked buildings, the walls of neighbouring houses riddled with shell fragments and bullets, shattered windows—that is what the camp looked like after the raid.

In the opinion of the Zambian President Kenneth Kaunda, the racists had long been preparing for the attack. It was planned as far back as April 10, but shortly before that date Zambian security forces had caught a South African spy who was trying to find out where ANC members lived.

As for the Makeni camp, there was not a single member of ANC or SWAPO (the Namibian liberation organization) there. This was confirmed by no less an authority than a representative of the U.N. High Commissioner for Refugees. Following Washington's example, the racists, taking their cue from the American aggressors, dropped bombs on women and children.

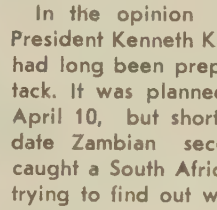
Refuting the racists' false claim that they struck only at ANC camps, President Kaunda said:

"Reagan's puppets, those barbarians from Pretoria and Capetown, bombed a refugee camp and not ANC bases. There are no such bases in Zambia." This was confirmed by one of the ANC leaders Tom Sabina whom your correspondent interviewed. He said that the ANC guerrillas are fighting the apartheid regime on the territory of South Africa, they have no bases in Zambia or in any other frontline country.

Observers here believe that the attack on Zambia was conceived as a terrorist act designed to intimidate the Zambian people and to force them to abandon their solidarity with the people of South Africa who have risen to smash the hated apartheid system. But the racists did not achieve their purpose. This raid, President Kaunda said, will not compel Zambia to stop supporting the just national liberation struggle in South Africa and Namibia. We are fully resolved, he declared, to continue the struggle against the criminal regime of apartheid.

Pieter Botha, the racist chief, had the temerity to say the other day that South Africa might repeat the raids on neighbouring countries that refuse to yield to Pretoria's diktat. In this connection the Zambian authorities are taking steps to safeguard the country's security. Immediately after the racists' attack, Zambian jet planes began patrolling the air over the refugee camp flying over it every few minutes. Police and soldiers are now guarding the camp which is surrounded by a high fence. Zambia is on the alert.

M. ZARIPOV
Our Own Correspondent
Lusaka



● BOTSWANA

THE HYPOCRISY OF KILLERS

Solomon Sambikani, a peasant who witnessed the South African attack on Botswana, told foreign newsmen:

"I was filling a pail of water in the middle of the village when my younger brother told me a helicopter had landed behind our house. I turned round and saw white soldiers alighting from the helicopter. When I ran up to the house, another helicopter landed in the middle of the village and the shooting started. My brother and I ran into the house and hid under the bed. Bullets began hitting the house. I heard explosions and loud cries. I thought we were done for."

The frightened peasants were mistaken about the number of helicopters that attacked their country on May 19. There were not two but five. The South African soldiers behaved like bandits. They opened a squall of fire at the peasant huts, planted explosives under them and through the holes blasted in the walls broke into the houses and searched them. About a dozen houses lay in ruins after the raid, others had their roofs blown off and the windows smashed. The ground was littered with the cartridges from automatic rifles.

One Botswanian was killed and three others were wounded in the raid.

As for the destroyed village (it is situated in the immediate vicinity of the capital Gaborone), the excuse given by the racists for attacking it is that it was allegedly a "transit camp for terrorists," meaning members of the ANC. But there were no ANC members in the village.

There are no ANC guerrillas whatever in Botswana. And Pretoria is well aware of this since the Botswana authorities have repeatedly told them so.

Here is the real reason for the attack on Botswana. South Africa has long been bent on inducing this country to sign an agreement under which it would not only assume the commitment to cease showing fraternal solidarity with the people of South Africa who are fighting against apartheid, but would subordinate its policy completely to Pretoria. This is a direct encroachment on the sovereignty of an independent republic. Gaborone understandably rejects these demands. South African commandos attacked Botswana also last year, killing 12 civilians. Now it has repeated its aggressive sally.

The attackers of Botswana and Zimbabwe used not only firearms. They dropped leaflets saying that South Africa counted Botswana among its friends and was striking solely at the ANC. It is of such "friends" that it is said: protect us from our friends, we shall deal with our enemies ourselves. In one of the leaflets concocted by the Pretoria propagandists we read: "Greetings to our neighbours." To what depths of depravity must one stoop to address greetings to people just before opening fire at them!

Y. BOCHKARYOV

Problem-Ridden Africa

ANATOLY GROMYKO, Corresponding Member of the U.S.S.R. Academy of Sciences, Director of the Africa Institute

A special session of the U.N. General Assembly opened on May 27 to discuss the critical economic situation in Africa.

The critical situation in the African economy has been constantly on the agenda of many regional African organizations in recent years. It is also being discussed in United Nations bodies. African leaders have described the slump in production that began in the 1980s as an economic crisis and have identified as its main causes the neocolonialist exploitation of the continent's resources by monopoly capital and the deterioration of the state of agriculture in the majority of African countries. In addition, since the early 1980s these countries have been crippled by foreign debts. International financial capital uses debts to rob the debtor countries.

Greedy Banks and Starving Millions

According to the African Development Bank (ADB), debts to transnational banks are rocketing. The ADB notes "the aggressiveness of foreign banks" which at times persuaded African countries to take up loans. These banks as a rule offer short-term and expensive loans. As a result, the cost of repaying debts began to exceed the capital earnings of the debtor countries. Loans have thus become one of the channels draining the incomes of African countries and depriving them of finances needed for development.

The activity of transnational corporations in Africa is also responsible for serious financial damage. Their profits have long exceeded their investments there. Between 1970 and 1982 the TNCs exported $24 billion from Africa while in late 1981 direct investments stood at a mere $15.5 billion. This means that the TNCs are operating in Africa with minimum expenditure of their own resources, investing not new capital but a proportion of the profits.

The lion's share of the dividends derived from the exploitation of developing countries goes to the American TNCs. In Africa, they operate in such a way as to invest less and gain more in profits. From 1950 to 1982 according to our calculations they invested $4,135 million in Africa and exported $8,960 million. Which means that American monopolies sliced off nearly $5 billion from the national incomes of the African countries over this period. Africa is also a victim of the price discrepancy, with the prices of the industrial goods it imports growing much faster than the prices of the raw materials it exports. In the past 30 years the price discrepancy has grown so wide that Africans now have to export almost 50 per cent more products than before to get the same amount as they got in the early 1950s.

The acute crisis in agriculture is the biggest scourge of the population in most African countries. This crisis has several aspects: ecological, agrarian and food.

There are about 30 million starving people on the continent and another 120 million under constant threat of famine. The situation is further aggravated by a shortage of drinking water, especially in the conditions of drought, the spread of deserts, and the death of forests. The southern boundary of the Sahara has advanced by 200 kilometres in the last 10-15 years causing the widespread migration of the inhabitants of the Sahel zone.

The agrarian policy of many young states has done little to stimulate food production, and unjustified taxing of export-crop farmers has undermined their possibility of modernizing production. The share of African coffee, cocoa beans and oil-bearing crops in the world market has dropped. Stagnation in export-crop farming has led to a fall in purchasing power which has in turn caused stagnation in market food production. While Africa's population is growing at an average rate of 2.8 per cent a year, food production has in recent years grown by an annual 1.9 per cent, and this at the most optimistic estimate. As a result, self-sufficiency in food dropped to 86 per cent as against 98 per cent in the 1960s.

In terms of per capita annual income, Africa ranked last in the world in the early 1980s ($700 compared with $1,000 for the developing world as a whole and $10,000 in the industrial capitalist countries). Nor is it only in incomes that the gap is wide. Many African countries are in dire need of dramatically improved education and medical services. At present the literacy rate in Africa is 32 per cent. This compares with 38 per cent in South Asia and about 80 per cent in Latin America. It is unlikely that Africa will bridge this gap in the foreseeable future. Only 30-40 per cent of children there go to primary school. The absence of medical services leads to high infant mortality, which is at least 140 per thousand (as against 20-25 in industrial countries). The average life expectancy in the developing countries is 45-60 years, in industrial countries 70-75 years, and in Africa, 49 years.

The following data give an idea of the extent to which Africa lags behind in the field of science and technology. Tropical Africa contributes about 0.4 per cent to the world total of scientific workers. The low level of development

This African woman can hardly save her starving child.

Photo from Newsweek (U.S.A.)

and shortage of money prevent African countries from allocating sufficient funds to train national scientific and technical personnel.

Even so independent Africa is doing everything to overcome the acute crisis. It is trying to mobilize efforts at home while seeking substantial increases in foreign aid. According to African leaders, $128.1 billion will be needed in the next five years to deal with the crisis situation. The African countries intend to raise two thirds of the sum ($88 billion) domestically and hope to get the rest from abroad.

Military Spending: A Scourge

Experience shows, however, that even carefully worked out and ambitious development plans in Africa run into difficulties because of the limited resources actually available to finance them. In the 1970s-80s a number of wide-scale and costly programmes to enable Africa to overcome its backwardness were drawn up.

In 1979, for example, the U.N. adopted a programme called Industrial Development Decade for Africa for the 1980s, estimated to cost about $140 billion. Much of the money was to go into sectors directly related to agriculture. In 1978 the Food and Agriculture Organization (FAO) came up with a regional food plan for Africa, a detailed programme for agricultural development. The first stage of the programme was to cost $22 billion, a sum that proved to be unrealistic.

U.N. experts had no difficulty in determining the amount of investment—$190 billion—necessary to speed up the solution of the main problems facing Africa (the development of industry, agriculture and transport). This is a colossal sum, but it is commensurate with the annual expenditure of a country such as the U.S. on arms. This exposes those who defend the interests of the American military-industrial complex and refuse to cut arms spending in the interests of development.

There is widespread concern in Africa over the fact that the West's economic aid is increasingly linked with its military and political plans. A report of the Committee on African Development Strategies, prepared in the U.S., proposes that all American aid to African countries—military and economic—should be tied in one package. If this strategy is adopted it would provide an impulse not so much to economic development as to increased military spending in Africa, which already stands at about $15 billion a year.

With the profound deterioration in the mid-1980s of the economic and financial positions of most developing countries, especially in Africa, the arms race is a particularly heavy burden to them. According to the Stockholm International Peace Research Institute (SIPRI), in 1984 the share of the developing countries in the military expenditure of the capitalist world was almost 15 per cent, as compared with 6.2 per cent in 1969.

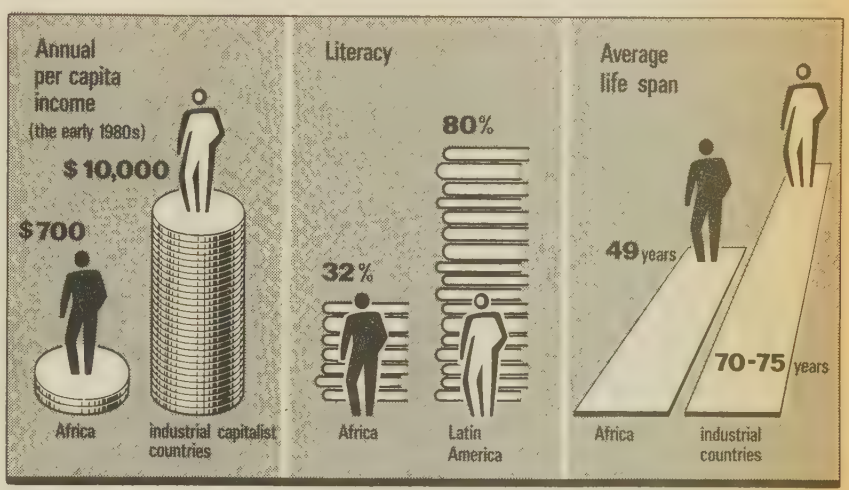
Most of the money is spent on the purchase of arms and military equipment. The U.S. and its main NATO partners are the leading exporters of arms to the developing countries (including those in Africa). According to SIPRI, of the total arms sales to Africa between 1980 and 1983, NATO countries accounted for 65 per cent, of which the U.S. contributed a little under 40 per cent, France, more than 10 per cent, and the remaining countries about 17 per cent. According to some estimates, the profits the U.S. and other Western countries derive from selling arms to African countries are roughly four times as great as from economic loans. This makes it clear why U.S. aid programmes to developing countries are dominated by military aid. According to the Christian Science Monitor, the share of military aid has risen from 25 to 43 per cent of the total American aid under the present U.S. Administration. Equally eloquent is the fact that while U.S. food aid to Africa has decreased in recent years, military aid will have grown three times over between 1980 and 1986.

It should be noted that the Soviet Union is not a supplier of arms to developing countries on a commercial basis, though it does help certain countries to strengthen their defences. This help differs fundamentally from the Western military business. Soviet arms in developing countries are used to protect the progressive achievements and liberation struggles of their peoples. Whenever a regime digresses from the progressive road and starts using Soviet military aid for aggressive purposes, the aid is immediately cut off.

The channelling of resources into the arms race hits at living standards in the developing countries, prevents them from resolving urgent social and economic problems and combating famine, poverty, disease and illiteracy. In the early 1980s African states spent an average of $30 per capita on arms, which is six times more than they spent on medical care and twice as much as they spent on education.

Through Disarmament to Development

When we speak of the arms race in which developing countries are involved contrary to their vital needs, it should be noted that the process is actively stimulated by imperialism, which is looking for new ways of exploiting the difficulties in the present stage of development in that part of the world.



This is the underlying idea behind the doctrine of neoglobalism which seeks to establish a world order that can only be described as global apartheid. The policy of perpetuating hotbeds of tension in Southeast Asia, the Middle East, southern Africa and Central America is aimed, among other things, at dividing the developing world, isolating developing countries from one another and, in the final analysis, depriving them of a say in international affairs.

The main goal of the neoglobalists is to create an international situation in which a large group of developing countries would be forced to give priority to their national security at the expense of development. The idea behind this is that, faced with acts of aggression, developing countries would

be unable to exert a substantial influence on the course of world politics.

The Soviet Union believes that the continuation of the arms race, which has an especially debilitating effect on the developing countries, is incompatible with development. The principle of armament instead of development should be replaced by the principle of disarmament for development. The ancients had a saying, "sublata causa tolletur morbus." Remove the cause and the disease passes.

In relation to international affairs today, this maxim can be rewritten as follows: "Stop the arms race and the world political and economic situation will become healthier."

The Soviet Union would like to see every measure of arms control and limitation, every step towards eliminating nuclear weapons strengthen the security of nations and enable them to allocate greater funds to improving the living conditions of the people. In proposing a comprehensive system of international security, the 27th CPSU Congress defined as one of its main directions the elaboration of principles for the use of a sizable proportion of the funds released by cuts in military spending for the good of the international community, notably, the developing countries.

But again the question arises: how realistic are the prospects for a new kind of political thinking based on the renunciation of power politics in favour of the policy of détente and development?

The continuing arms race, which widens the gulf between the industrialized and developing countries and considerably undermines the will of the latter towards development, runs counter to the vital interests of the whole of mankind and consequently the interests of the Soviet and American people. At the same time the world will judge the responsibility and political wisdom of the Soviet and American leaders on the basis of how the two countries address themselves to these problems and what concrete steps they take in this direction. It is a measure of the responsible approach of the Soviet leadership to the problem of overcoming the backwardness of developing countries that it combines cooperation with these countries and the struggle for peace.

We live in a troubled and at the same time exciting era in which man's potential has increased to an incredible degree.

But shall we be able to turn from the dangerous, even fatal line which is more and more clearly visible before us? There is only one answer. We must. ■

Solidarity with a Fighting Continent

The Organization of African Unity proclaimed the anniversary of its founding on May 25, 1963, Africa Liberation Day. Since then the Day has been observed annually by African peoples and their friends throughout the world, the Soviet Union included.

The U.S.S.R. Ministry of Foreign Affairs arranged a reception for the ambassadors of African countries to the Soviet Union to mark the occasion. A press conference for Soviet and foreign newsmen was held at the Ministry's press centre.

A meeting of the Moscow public to mark Africa Liberation Day, and the Week of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa which began on the same day, was held at Moscow's Trade Union House. Addressing the meeting, Bally Yazkuliyev, Vice-President of the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet, voiced the Soviet people's unwavering solidarity with the Africans' fight against colonialism, racism and the neocolonialist policy of imperialism, and its support for peace and universal security. He stressed that the Soviet people angrily condemned the barbarous U.S. air raid on Libya, South Africa's brigand attacks on Zimbabwe, Zambia and Botswana, and its armed invasion of Angola. These are unjustifiable acts of state terrorism and undisguised aggression by the imperialists and racists against young sovereign states.

On behalf of the African diplomats, Frédéric Randriamamonjy, Ambassador of Madagascar to the U.S.S.R., expressed appreciation of the Soviet Union's friendly assistance to African countries and national liberation movements.

Meetings and rallies were held as part of the Week of solidarity with the struggle of the peoples of southern Africa in Moscow, Leningrad, the capitals of constituent Soviet Republics and in a number of other cities. They were convincing demonstrations of the Soviet public's support for the African nations in their fight for national and social liberation.

"The march of history is irreversible," read a message from the Presidium of the U.S.S.R. Supreme Soviet and the U.S.S.R. Council of Ministers to African heads of state and government on Africa Liberation Day. "The just cause of the African peoples and the patriotic forces of Namibia and South Africa headed by SWAPO and the African National Congress will inevitably triumph."

N. RESHETNYAK

APPOINTMENTS

First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.
ANATOLY GAVRILOVICH KOVALYOV

Anatoly Kovalyov, a Russian, was born on May 18, 1923, at Gnilovskaya station, Rostov Region. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1948. He became a member of the CPSU in 1945. At the 27th CPSU Congress he was elected a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

Anatoly Kovalyov began his working life in 1941. On joining the diplomatic service in 1948 he worked till 1955 in the Third European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. and also on the staff of the political adviser to the Soviet Military Administration, then the Soviet Control Commission in Germany, in the Soviet embassy in the G.D.R. and on the staff of the High Commissioners of the U.S.S.R. in Germany. From 1955 to 1958 Anatoly Kovalyov was a first secretary and then counsellor in the Third European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1958-59 he served as an assistant and in 1959-65 as head of the group of advisers to the Minister of Foreign Affairs. Anatoly Kovalyov headed the First European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1965 to 1971. He became a member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs in 1966.

From 1971 to 1986 he was Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs and concurrently headed from 1971 to 1985 the Department for Foreign Policy Planning at the Ministry.

Anatoly Kovalyov has been awarded the Order of Lenin, two Orders of the October Revolution, three Orders of the Red Banner of Labour and medals. Anatoly Kovalyov is a member of the Soviet Writers' Union and a winner of the U.S.S.R. State Prize.

First Deputy Minister of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R.
YULI MIKHAILOVICH VORONTSOV

Yuli Vorontsov, a Russian, was born on October 7, 1929, in Leningrad. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1952. A member of the CPSU from 1956, he was elected a member of the CPSU Central Committee at the 26th and 27th Party congresses.

In 1952 Yuli Vorontsov became a consultant at the Second European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs of the U.S.S.R. From 1954 to 1958 he worked at the U.N. Soviet mission. From 1958 to 1963 he was a second secretary, first secretary and counsellor at the Department of International Organizations of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1963 to 1965 he served as a counsellor at the Soviet mission to the United Nations Organization and in 1965 returned to the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. Till 1966 he was deputy head of the Department of International Organizations. From 1966 to 1977 he was a counsellor, then minister-counsellor at the Soviet embassy in the United States. In 1977 he headed the Soviet delegation at the Belgrade meeting of representatives of member countries of the Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe. From 1977 to 1983 Yuli Vorontsov served as Soviet ambassador to India and from 1983 to 1986 as Soviet ambassador to France.

Yuli Vorontsov has been awarded the Order of Lenin, Orders of the Red Banner of Labour and the Badge of Honour.

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the U.S.A.
YURI VLADIMIROVICH DUBININ

Yuri Dubinin, a Russian, was born on October 7, 1930, in Nalchik, Kabardin-Balkar Autonomous Soviet Socialist Republic. He graduated from the Moscow State Institute of International Relations in 1954 and in the same year became a member of the CPSU. Yuri Dubinin is a Candidate of Science (history). At the 27th CPSU Congress he was elected a member of the Central Auditing Commission of the CPSU.

After graduation Yuri Dubinin was a trainee at the Soviet embassy in France. In 1956-59 he worked in the UNESCO Secretariat in Paris. From 1959 to 1963 he was a third secretary and then second secretary in the First European Department of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. In 1963-68 he was a first secretary and counsellor at the Soviet embassy in France. From 1968 to 1971 Yuri Dubinin was deputy head of the First European Department and then headed it till 1978. Yuri Dubinin was a member of the Collegium of the Ministry of Foreign Affairs from 1972 to 1978. From 1978 to 1986 Yuri Dubinin was Ambassador in Spain, and from March to May 1986 was the permanent representative of the U.S.S.R. in the U.N. In May 1986 the Presidium of the Supreme Soviet of the U.S.S.R. appointed Yuri Dubinin to the post of Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. in the United States.

Yuri Dubinin has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples, the Badge of Honour Order.

Ambassador of the U.S.S.R. to the F.R.G.
YULI ALEXANDROVICH KVITSINSKY

Yuli Kvitsinsky, a Russian, was born on September 28, 1936, in Rzhev, Kalinin Region. In 1959 he graduated from the State Institute of International Relations in Moscow. Yuli Kvitsinsky is a Candidate of Sciences (law). He joined the CPSU in 1962. At the 27th Party Congress he was elected an alternate member of the Central Committee of the CPSU.

After graduation Yuli Kvitsinsky was assigned to the Soviet embassy in the G.D.R. as an interpreter. Till 1965 he worked as an attaché, third and second secretary at the embassy of the U.S.S.R. in the G.D.R. From 1965 to 1978 he was second secretary, first secretary, expert-consultant and deputy head of the Third European Department at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs. From 1978 to 1981 he served as minister-counsellor at the U.S.S.R. embassy in the F.R.G. From 1981 to 1986 he was ambassador at large at the Ministry of Foreign Affairs.

Yuli Kvitsinsky has been awarded the Order of the Red Banner of Labour, the Order of Friendship of the Peoples.

Mongolia—a Record of Unique Achievement

This is a special year for Mongolia: it is the 65th anniversary of the people's revolution and the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party. Moreover, the regular 19th Congress of the People's Revolutionary Party opened on May 28. The country has travelled a long road, encountered many difficulties and scored many successes since the victory of the people. LODONGYIN TUDEV, a well-known Mongolian writer and winner of the State Prize of the Mongolian People's Republic, editor-in-chief of the Unen newspaper, who is a delegate to the congress, discusses the country's achievements in an interview with New Times correspondent V. Godyna.

— Comrade Tudev, we in the Soviet Union are familiar with your poems, stories and novels. Your political novel "The First Year of the Republic" has not yet been translated into Russian. Would you tell our readers how it was conceived and written?

— I am often asked by readers, especially young people, about the details of the emergence of our people's republic and the early years of its development. Naturally, our young people study history and know the landmarks of national development. But they want to learn more than the textbooks tell them. They want to know the details, events and facts which make up the fabric of history. It was this interest on the part of young men and women, their countless questions, that gave me the idea of writing a novel about the origins of the Mongolian People's Republic, and reconstructing those distant events.

Mongolia's history is unique in that we were the first people in human history to embark on the path of socialist construction, bypassing the capitalist phase of development.

— It was a bold step, needless to say. But it was not for nothing that H.G. Wells called Lenin the "dreamer in the Kremlin." It was his ideas that guided the Mongolian Communists when they drew up the party's general policy. "Mongolia should not retrace the painful path of capitalist enslavement traversed by the other peoples of the world," the Mongolian People's Revolutionary Party's Third Congress said in its resolution. "It should develop as a truly popular system in line with the present-day international development."

— It was indeed a happy eventuality that the seeds of a courageous dream found fertile soil in Mongolia. The party's plans were realized precisely because they met the aspirations of the whole Mongolian people. In my novel "The First Year of the Republic" I describe how the delegates to the First People's Great Hural made the decisive choice on behalf of the people and voted for a republic. It was a truly historic event.

— Young people today tend to believe that the revolutionaries, the founders of the Mongolian People's Republic, were outstanding, extraordinary personalities....

— There are indeed such views. Young people sometimes think that the revolution was made by a chosen few and that people endowed with the wisdom of years and experience stood at the origins of the revolution and of our state. But in reality most of them at the time were as young as members of the Revolutionary Youth League are today. That is why I wanted to introduce those historical personalities to the reader, to draw their portraits and show them in party and government work and in their personal lives at home.

— My next question is about the balance between fact and fiction in literature. What can you say as the author of a novel based on historical reality?

— The writer unquestionably has the right to fiction but the balance between historical truth and fiction is open to debate, and it is a matter not only of esthetics but, if you like, ethics. I personally stand for veracity and prefer historical truth. The truth, indeed, is the weapon not only of the revolutionary and propagandist, but also of the writer.

Besides, is there any need to invent things when you describe events which in themselves are so fascinating?

Here is one true story. In 1925 the people's government issued the tughrik. Previously, the national economy had been dominated by the Chinese liang, the dollar and the franc, and the emergence of the national monetary unit was a remarkable event. But the enemies of the republic, bent on frustrating the monetary reform and thus undermining confidence in the emergent people's rule, decided to make the tughrik depreciate by dumping counterfeight money on the market.

The tughriks were silver and copper coins. A large shipment of copper was smuggled in from Manchuria and craftsmen of Chinese extraction, known today as huaqiao, began to forge tughriks. It was almost impossible to tell the difference between real and counterfeit money. I say "almost" because a way of distinguishing between them was eventually found. It happened as follows: there was an inscription in Old Mongolian on the rim of the copper tughrik which read "Mongolian People's Republic Friendly to All." The Chinese counterfeiters, who did not know our language, copied it inaccurately and one tiny symbol was missing. But the observant Mongolians noticed the difference and the fake coins were identified one by one and taken out of circulation.

Our enemies did not give up. They learned their lesson and copied the tughrik anew—but they made another mistake: the thickness of the counterfeit coin was different from that of the real. This was noticed by an observant peasant. He made purchases in two shops, was given many copper coins in change and, returning home, arranged them in two piles of nine coins each given by the two shops. He noticed that one pile was higher than the other, alerted the security service and helped to thwart another act of subversion. And there were countless acts of subversion in the early years of the revolution.

— The Mongolian people's state was established in a country which was a bulwark of Buddhism, the philosophy of which is hostile to the very idea of drastic transformations and revolutionary change....

— The Buddhists indeed paralyzed the will of the people to struggle for revolutionary goals by their doctrine of the renunciation of all desires. Buddhism makes man passive and indifferent. It condemns any resistance or striving for justice in society, let alone fighting for it. According to Buddhist teaching, fighting is futile because the present life is the continuation of a previous life and the precondition for a future incarnation. If you are a feudal lord, you will not be a peasant in another life, and if you are a poor man, it is pointless even to dream of a better lot. Needless to say, to bring about revolutionary change in old Mongolia, whose social system was sanctified by Buddhist philosophy, was immensely difficult.

— So Gorky was quite right when he urged Mongolian writers to foster an energetic and active attitude in people!

— He certainly was, and his appeal came at a time when the people's republic was taking its first steps. Mongolian writers were conscious of their role as "engineers of human souls" and understood that progressive Russian and Soviet literature could help them a great deal in unfettering the mentality of their compatriots from religious prejudice. However, one needs a compass on the ocean—and Russian literature is truly a boundless ocean. That is why Mongolian education minister A. Batukhan wrote to Maxim Gorky on behalf of creative Mongolian intellectuals in 1925, asking his advice "on the principle that should be followed in this work, and how it should be started."

In reply, inter alia, Gorky wrote: "As far as I can judge the Mongolian soul from the books I have read about Mongolia I think that propagation of the principle of activity would be especially useful for your people." Gorky stressed this idea three times in the nine paragraphs of his brief letter, recommending that Mongolian authors "translate precisely those European books [note how he broadened the field of advisable literature] in which the principle of activity, the strain of thought seeking freedom in action rather than passive freedom, is put across with especial force."

I describe all this in such detail not only because my novel reproduces that letter to Gorky and his reply, the text of which was carried by the newspaper Izvestia Ulan Bator Khoto in 1925. This story illustrates our cultural and artistic ties and Gorky's letter to Mongolian intellectuals was a testimony to the establishment of such ties between the literatures of the two socialist countries.

— Talking of the close ties between the literatures of our countries, I would point out first and foremost that both extol peace and life.

— Who else if not the writer, the champion of the ideas and aspirations of his people, should work for peace? From the early days of the Mongolian People's Republic, my people said that they wanted peace with all nations. Mongolia's commitment to peace is well known to the international community. I am proud that my country is playing an increasingly significant role on the world scene. Mongolia's initiative to conclude a treaty on mutual non-aggression and non-use of force in relations between the Asian and Pacific countries is winning increasing recognition and support, and on Mongolia's initiative the 39th session of the U.N. General Assembly approved a Declaration on the Right of the Peoples to Peace. This policy has a sound foundation, laid in that same year of 1924 when the new state, the Mongolian People's Republic Friendly to All, appeared on the political map of the world. With time the words "Friendly to All" were omitted, perhaps, for brevity's sake. But the character of Mongolia's policy remained the same: friendly to all, that is, ready to make friends and live in peace with all countries and peoples. ■

Dinner in Miami

"Long live Batista!" No, U.S. Vice-President George Bush did not say that when he spoke the other day in Miami. He didn't even venture to say a good word about Somoza or to toast the health of Pinochet, the U.S. best friend in Latin America. But he needn't have been so bashful. For everything he said in that speech was permeated with a feeling of nostalgia for the days of the bloody fascist regimes that have been consigned to oblivion, and with an irrepressible affection for those who have not yet been consigned thither.

The speech in question was delivered at a jubilee dinner attended by the Vice-President and his friends to mark an auspicious occasion — "Cuba Independence Day." This particular "independence" is far younger than independent Cuba. It is only five years old and is the fruit of the passionate, fatal love affair between the CIA and the counterrevolutionaries whom the Cubans ejected from the island and who managed to get across to the shores of the American promised land, in Miami.

A miscarriage, in fact, it was given the long and unintelligible name of Cuban-American National (sic) Foundation, and has been kept alive by artificial feeding for five years now at the expense of the American taxpayer. A year ago this marvellous product of political biotechnology was taught to speak. It was heard in Voice of America programmes beamed to Cuba in which "Cubans are informed about life in Cuba."

The Vice-President admitted that he wanted to "talk with you about Cuba and America." And so he did. About life in Cuba being a hell on earth. About how wonderful things were there before 1958 in those halcyon days when Batista ran the unsightly brothel into which the U.S. had turned the island — that indeed was paradise.

It turns out that the Cubans who have built up their economy have "destroyed Cuba." Under Batista all Cubans were happy and no one was ever sick. Now they are all sick and there is no medicare. "If you don't play along you don't get treatment."

Cuban working people voicing their enthusiastic approval of their country's independent policy.

The Vice-President was not giving rein to his imagination. He said he was speaking the truth and "the full truth is in the specific and the specifics I am about to give you are all from the State Department Report."

The specifics: Cuban youths scrawl the words "Viva U.S.A." on all the house walls. And of course "Viva Reagan." For which they are clapped into jail on the spot. Believers are executed. Peasants too. And in general everybody. "Their cause is our cause," the Vice-President said. "That's why we must help the contras in Nicaragua." Logical.

The storm of applause that followed Bush's speech shook Miami. His hearers wept. For joy at hearing the "specifics" they themselves had concocted, and sold to the CIA, which shared them with the State Department, which loaned them to the Vice-President who held forth...

V. TSOPPI

Photo from Bohemia (Cuba)

Comrade Nadjib, Soldier of the Revolution

The 18th plenary meeting of the Central Committee of the People's Democratic Party of Afghanistan, held on May 4, granted Babrak Karmal's request that he be relieved of his duties as General Secretary of the Central Committee for health reasons. Babrak Karmal continues to serve as a member of the Political Bureau of the Central Committee and Chairman of the Presidium of the Revolutionary Council of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan.

The Central Committee unanimously elected Comrade Nadjib, a member of the Political Bureau and Secretary of the Central Committee, to the post of General Secretary.

General Secretary Nadjib, 39, has devoted more than 20 years of his life to revolution.

He was born in the village of Melan near Gardez (Paktia Province) into the family of a civil servant. During the 1960s his father, Ahtar Mohammad, a Pashtoon of the Ghilizai tribe, was Afghan consul in Peshawar (Pakistan).

Nadjib joined the People's Democratic Party in 1965, when it had just emerged as a progressive and democratic force uniting in its ranks the finest representatives of the urban middle classes, intellectuals, servicemen, progressive workers and farmers and young people.

At that time youth affairs at the organizational department of the Central Committee were the responsibility of Haydar Masud, today chairman of the State Committee for Radio and Television Broadcasting and Cinematography of the Democratic Republic of Afghanistan. Here is what he told me:

"The second half of the 1960s saw Afghan public movements becoming increasingly active. A new impetus was given to the political struggle in the country when it was joined by Kabul students. The University of Kabul was hit by prolonged strikes and demonstrations: students protested against the outdated structure of higher education and demanded broader civil rights and freedoms as stipulated in the Constitution. The People's Democratic Party promptly won many followers among the students.

"Nadjib, who was 18 at the time, had the reputation of being a revolutionary and a rebel in the preparatory year of the university's department of medicine. In October 1966, the first anniversary of the violent suppression of university students when the police opened fire on them, many rallies and a large demonstration took place in the city. The stocky Nadjib, smiling and enthusiastic, was tireless. Both youngsters and older people recognized him as their leader. On that day Nadjib made speeches at the university and at seven or eight more rallies, addressing mostly workers.

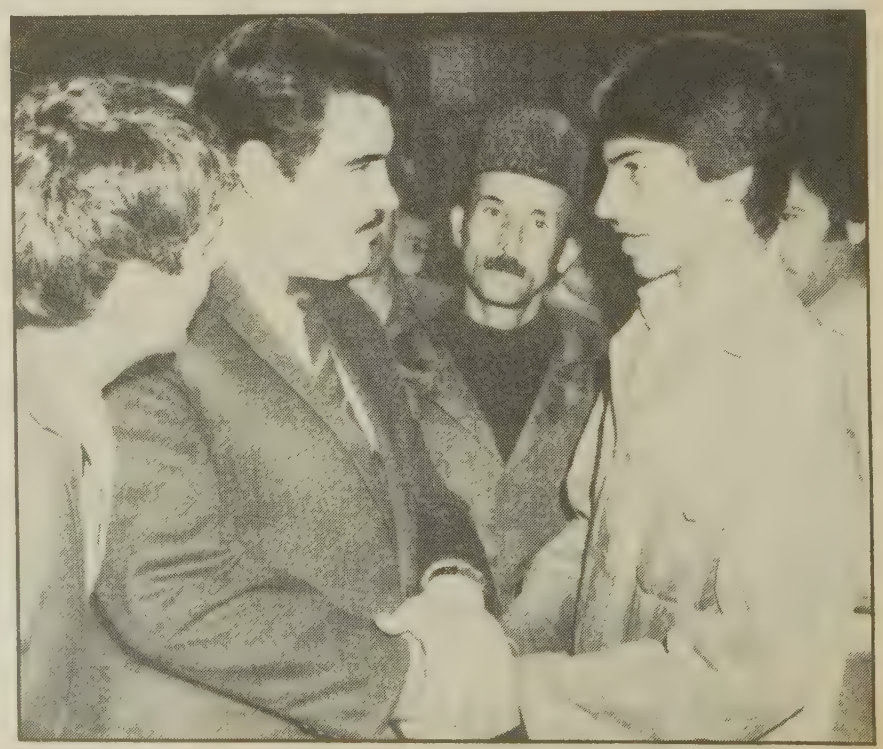
"The King's security service did not forgive Nadjib his active role and the young revolutionary was gaoled. It was his second arrest in 1966: the first time was in May, when he had taken part in a protest demonstration against the visit of the U.S. Vice-President to Afghanistan."

According to Nadjib's friends and associates, even at that time he was distinguished by his organizational ability and skill in putting across the Party's ideals and objectives. He contributed to the establishment of new Party cells and taught at secret Party courses. There was almost no Marxist revolutionary literature in the country and Party propagandists had an important role to play. Nadjib himself closely studied works by classics of Marxism and great philosophers, anything he could obtain from Kabul libraries or from friends.

He gave little thought to his professional career. He eventually graduated from the university in 1975 but never worked as a physician. His prestige in the Party, however, was rapidly growing. In 1976 he was elected secretary of the underground Kabul city committee of the PDP; at that time most Party members were in the capital and the city organization was a school of Party cadres. Comrade Nadjib worked tirelessly to recruit new Party members and strengthen Party ranks.

For some time after the victory of the national democratic revolution on April 27, 1978, in which he had personally taken part Nadjib remained secretary of the Kabul Party Committee. After the Revolution, the Party was legalized and he continued to work to establish and strengthen the revolutionary govern-

Comrade Nadjib with workers at the Jungalak autoplant in Kabul.



ment and introduce the early progressive socio-economic reforms.

From the outset the Afghan revolution encountered fierce opposition from domestic and foreign reaction and soon an undeclared war was launched against the young republic. The Party had to take effective measures to defend the achievements of the revolution and, in particular, set up a security service. From January 1980 to November 1985 the security service was headed by Nadjib, who had now been promoted to the rank of lieutenant general. Working under the leadership of the Central Committee of the Party, the security service became a reliable defender of the new social system against the subversive operations of the mercenaries of imperialism and regional reaction.

The 16th plenary meeting of the PDP Central Committee in November last year elected Nadjib secretary of the PDP Central Committee responsible for organizational Party work and military affairs.

Sultan Ali Keshtmand, member of the Political Bureau of the PDP Central Committee and president of the Council of Ministers of Afghanistan, told me that Nadjib was carrying out his new duties with energy and dedication. The head of government, who had known him closely for over 20 years, emphasized his support of the principle of collective leadership and respect for the opinion of his comrades in the Party and the Central Committee. He often meets the rank and file of the Party, members of youth and women's organizations, farmers, workers, intellectuals and businessmen, and listens closely to their proposals, wishes and complaints.

After his election to the post of general secretary at the May 1986 plenary meeting of the Central Committee, Nadjib said in his acceptance speech: "I view my election as a manifestation of the Party's great trust. As a soldier of the Party and your comrade in our common struggle for the ideals of the April revolution, I assure you that I will not spare strength, energy or knowledge in pursuit of the goals and objectives of the Party and the revolution."

He always tries to be amongst people, workers, fighters in the people's army and Party activists in the capital. In the past few weeks he has met representatives of the Pashtoon tribes, national minorities and the clergy. The Afghan public showed much interest in his speech at a plenary meeting of the Kabul Party Committee on May 14. "An analysis of our recent work shows that our chief problem is lack of energetic action," Nadjib said. "We have a well-thought-out and balanced strategy but are weak when it comes to putting it into practice. Many good ideas and plans are drowned in verbiage and remain on paper.... Practice lags behind our own recommendations. This is what is meant by a gap between words and deeds, which causes stagnation where there should not be any, in the forefront of the revolutionary process." The General Secretary urged tighter control over the execution of resolutions, higher standards and greater responsibility, and an end to such negative phenomena as clanish attitudes and misuse of blood ties. "There is one law for all in the Party," he said. "What we should do is fight uncompromisingly for honesty and probity. There should be no fear of responsibility.... Shortcomings should be criticized. Criticism and self-criticism should be as necessary to us as air."

Nadjib stresses in his speeches that the revolutionary process in Afghanistan is irreversible. Its main tasks and programme goals are to broaden the social base of the revolutionary government, fruitfully cooperate with all the patriots of the republic, put an end to bloodshed and achieve peace and tranquillity in Afghanistan. He has reaffirmed that Afghanistan stands for a peaceful political settlement of the situation that has arisen around it. Nadjib has expressed his appreciation of the relations of friendship and cooperation between the U.S.S.R. and Afghanistan and his gratitude to the CPSU and the Soviet people for their immense and comprehensive assistance to his country.

G. USTINOV

Kabul

Photograph courtesy of the Hakikate Enkilabe Thawr of Kabul

Peace School

"When we learned of the decision of the U.S.S.R. to again prolong its moratorium on nuclear testing we applauded with enthusiasm. This is splendid news for every woman who thinks of the future of her children," said Marianne Szyffer, president of the Belgian Women for Peace Association, who came to our country with the representatives of 56 national women's organizations and anti-war movements to attend the International Peace School, held in Leningrad under the auspices of the Soviet Women's Committee as an International Year of Peace event. The main purpose is to demonstrate the unity of progressive women on the most vital issue of our time—the prevention of nuclear war.

For six days women from 28 of the countries that had participated in the Helsinki Conference on Security and Cooperation in Europe exchanged opinions and discussed a programme of joint measures and actions. Plenary meetings examined problems relating to strengthening peace in Europe, the influence of the arms race on the position of women and their families, and the role and significance of public opinion and the mass media in creating a climate of confidence between nations.

One discussion was devoted to the burning question of disarmament. It ended with a call to invigorate the movement in support of the Soviet peace proposals.

"Because of the lack of reliable information about Soviet policy Canadian anti-war activists do not always feel sufficiently confident," Moira Walker, of the Voice of Women organization, said. "Now we have received that information at first hand, so to speak. We are very glad that Mikhail Gorbachev has reaffirmed his proposal to meet President Reagan to agree on banning nuclear tests."

Members of the Peace School sightseeing in Leningrad.

A communiqué was adopted noting that the threat of nuclear annihilation hangs over all countries and peoples. The primary tasks of the world community, it said, are to ban all nuclear testing, freeze arsenals, carry out a step-by-step reduction of nuclear, chemical and other mass destruction weapons all the way to their complete elimination by the year 2000, and prevent the militarization of outer space.

The women of the International School of Peace voiced their resolve to work with redoubled energy so that mankind might enter the next century without nuclear weapons.

Cynthia Johnson of the American Women Strike for Peace organization said that as soon as she returned from the Peace School she intended to go to the Nevada nuclear testing ground. "The United States must join in the moratorium. We shall fight for that."

V. POZNYAK

TASS photo

Who Will Venture into the Tiger's Den?

Bookshops in Japan are doing a brisk trade selling bulky almanacs that claim to tell the fortunes of individuals and even of whole countries. This year is a year of the tiger, so all sorts of calamities are believed to be possible. "Important changes that may mark the beginning of a new period in Japanese history" are expected in the country. Political observers agree with this prediction on the part of the masters of the occult sciences. But they base their conclusions not on combinations of cyclic symbols, figures and stars in the lunar calendar but on public opinion polls, alignments of forces in parties and factions, and the interconnection of events in the political calendar.

The Fight for Premiership

Last month the leaders of the seven leading capitalist countries held their meeting in Tokyo. Parliament discussed important bills—educational reform, denationalization of state-owned railways, and the redistribution of parliamentary seats between densely and sparsely populated electoral districts. The term of office of the president of the Liberal Democratic Party (LDP) Yasuhiro Nakasone expires in autumn. In accordance with the regulations, a new leader of the ruling party, who will ipso facto become head of government, must be elected.

Who will the post go to? Kakuei Tanaka, leader of the most powerful faction in the LDP, a "king-maker" operating behind the scenes, has withdrawn from political life. It is to him that Nakasone owes his premiership. And Nakasone is far from being the only man who is indebted to Tanaka. In November 1982 Tanaka brought Nakasone, the leader of a comparatively small faction in the LDP, to power in order to keep large rival factions out. By supporting Nakasone, Tanaka was able not only to influence the course of the Lockheed scandal, in which he was involved, but also to "suggest" the government's most important decisions to the Premier. The illness that has paralyzed Tanaka both physically and politically has had serious consequences for the alignment of forces in the LDP. The Tanaka faction has split. Most of his former associates have rallied round Minister of Finance Noburu Takeshita who is claiming leadership from Susumu Nikaido, the No. 2 man in the LDP. This rivalry has strengthened Nakasone's position.

Having relieved himself of Tanaka's tutelage, Nakasone is now freer to pursue his own political course. The Premier has set himself the task of "drawing the final line under the postwar period in politics." But his main task is to eliminate the obstacles in the way of Japan becoming a military and economic superpower and revive the "traditional moral values" and institutions of the prewar period.

But Nakasone set off at too rapid a pace and suffered several painful defeats consecutively. He did not succeed in drastically increasing military spending, which is limited to one per cent of the GNP. The Premier's formal visit to the symbol of Japanese militarism—the Yasukuni shrine—evoked a storm of indignation in the country and throughout Asia. Parliament rejected the bill on combating espionage even before it was formally put to the vote. Discernible in this bill was a desire to establish total police control in the country. But these setbacks did not discourage Nakasone. On the contrary, they only convinced him that to achieve his goals he needed time. This explains his decision to seek yet another, third, two-year term at the helm of the party and government.

Banking on Popularity

This is easier said than done. Party regulations limit a chairman's tenure to four years. Nakasone encounters the very strong resistance of his own party, the leaders of its main factions. Some LDP leaders differ with Nakasone on matters of fundamental importance and criticize him for pushing Japan to the right, towards the road of militarization. On the one hand, these leaders reflect the views of that part of the business community which sees the country's future in developing profitable business in peaceful branches of science and technology. On the other hand, they fear a weakening of the LDP's position. A part of the LDP leadership accepts Nakasone's course but refuses to accept his style of independent decision-making without consulting the "elders."

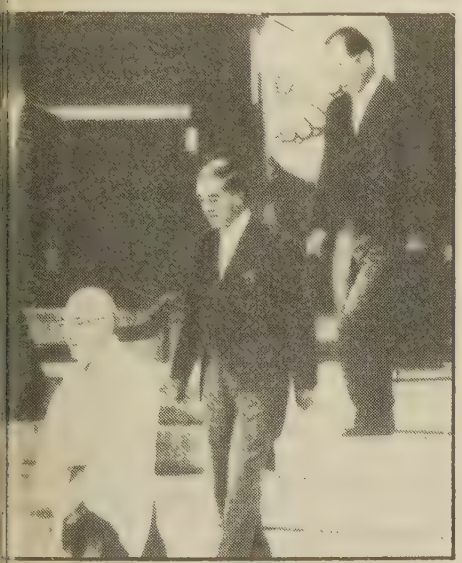
Yasuhiro Nakasone counted on his exceptional personal popularity. Almost half the people approached in a public opinion polls conducted in April spoke highly of his cabinet's performance, and this is unprecedented in Japan. What are the reasons for this? There is little point in looking for them in domestic policy. True, a commission of experts appointed by Nakasone himself recently published a report stating that in such areas as economic stability and living and working conditions the Japanese have overtaken the United States and West European countries. The press, however, treated the report as an election gimmick, an exercise in vanity. The papers noted that the Japanese work 200-400 hours more per annum than their colleagues in industrial Western countries. Their real wages over the past ten years have increased by only 0.9 per cent. They live in cramped housing that they call "rabbit hutches." The schools are suffering from a veritable epidemic of hooliganism. The costs of education and medical services are soaring. The traditionally strong Japanese family is falling apart. Alcoholism, drug addiction, mental illness and suicide are on the increase. The secret of Nakasone's popularity is rather in his foreign policy, especially that part of it which appears on the front pages of the newspapers.

It was always with pride that the Japanese philistine watched his Premier on television conversing as an equal with the most influential politicians in the world. He is deeply moved by Yasuhiro Nakasone's relations with Ronald Reagan: they address each other as "Ron" and "Yasu." The eloquent and imposing Premier's frequent journeys abroad and his interviews to foreign journalists, some of which he gives in English, get extensive coverage.

In the hope of sustaining his popularity, the Japanese Premier crammed his political calendar for the spring and summer chock-full. Early April: a visit to the United States and a new meeting with "Ron." Late April: celebrations of the 60th anniversary of Emperor Hirohito's accession to the throne. Early May: meeting of the Seven. Mid-May: visit to Japan by the heir to the British

throne Prince Charles and Princess Diana.

Nakasone's scenario for boosting his popularity was complete by the middle of May. The Premier, who has kept the bearing of a naval officer, looked extremely smart in pictures showing him next to President Reagan, both wearing the jackets of U.S. naval pilots. The ceremony marking the 60th anniversary of the enthronement of the Japanese emperor, organized by Nakasone, was lavish and pompous if lacking in enthusiasm. The head of government was also fairly impressive in the television coverage of protocol activities during the meeting of the Big Seven.



Yasuhiro Nakasone's visit to the Yasukuni Shinto shrine, where the "souls" of Japanese war criminals "rest," was bitterly criticized by the democratic public and produced an adverse reaction in neighbouring Asian countries.

Photo from Der Spiegel (F.R.G.)

Yet Nakasone failed to achieve his objective. This was due to events that were unforeseen in any of the scripts.

Big Business Disappointed

The troubles had already begun in late March, when the press revealed machinations involving billions of yen provided to the Marcos government within the framework of "official development aid." The Japanese companies pressing for contracts to deliver equipment deducted 15 per cent of the cost of the contracts to people close to the Philippines president and they, in turn, made "political donations" to high-placed LDP officials. The discussion, far from pleasant for the ruling party, of the close connection between the contents of the safes in the offices of its leaders and aid programmes to the Philippines, South Korea and other countries, was muted by a series of arrests and suicides of senior officials at the Ministry of International Trade and Industry. But the scandal is not over.

Also far from over is another scandal fraught with even graver consequences for the LDP. For a number of years leaders of the association of spinning cooperatives had been making "political donations" to members of parliament in order to get state subsidies. A representative of the opposition Democratic Socialist Party (DSP) was the first victim of the scandal. But then investigators turned their attention to a deputy from the LDP, a former minister and, to make matters worse, a member of Nakasone's faction. Exposures of other members of parliament from the ruling party are also expected.

But no matter how unpleasant these scandals were for the head of the party, who had decided to hold general elections, they were totally eclipsed by the extremely unfavourable results of the Tokyo summit. After all, the electorate has got used to corruption within the LDP and, in the long run, it is not the electorate that decides the fate of the party or the cabinet. It appears that business circles are now disappointed in Nakasone and it is this that spells bad news for the Prime Minister. "Nakasone failed to defend Japan's interests," "Nakasone will face an economic tribunal after the meeting"—such were the headlines of bitterly critical articles in newspapers.

Japanese business has been hard hit by the rise in the exchange rate of the yen that started last September (the dollar already costs not 240 but 160 yen). But when, on the first day of the conference, Nakasone began recounting the problems of Japanese exporters whose commodities were rapidly becoming more expensive and less competitive, he was told that the Japanese economy still enjoyed a privileged position. The friendship with Reagan turned out not to be all that close. It was the American delegation that pressed most vigorously for a further rise in the yen. Banks and research centres predict a decline in Japanese exports, and a fall in the profits of corporations and in economic growth rates.

The Prime Minister is also accused of supposedly promising Reagan that he would implement the recommendations of the Miyakawa Report, which provides for a gradual reorientation of the Japanese economy from export to domestic consumption. Indignation was likewise aroused by Nakasone's consenting to the creation, within the framework of the Big Seven, of a mechanism to monitor the functioning of national economies. It is expected that attempts will be made to establish this "supervision" in the first instance over Japan. Concern is being voiced about the possible consequences for Japanese interests in the Middle East of Tokyo's endorsement of the "anti-terrorist" statement adopted by the Seven.

On May 22 the regular parliamentary session ended after approving a law on changes in the rules for elections to the lower chamber. And immediately after this, rumours spread in Tokyo that Nakasone nevertheless intends to dissolve the lower chamber and hold double elections to parliament on July 6. Victory in the elections could be the trump card by means of which Nakasone will press to be elected for a third term.

Before dissolving parliament, Nakasone has to convene a special session—formally to approve emergency aid to the export firms that are going bankrupt because of the rise in the exchange rate of the yen. But this was possible only given the consent of members of the government and the leaders of the LDP factions who stand behind them. The Nakasone plan was opposed by the second largest faction led by Zenko Suzuki, which even threatened to recall its ministers. Though the leaders of other factions finally agreed to the idea of double elections, which give the LDP the chance to regain its lost absolute majority in parliament, they are ready at any moment to wrest the fruits of victory from Nakasone and install their own representatives as premier.

Will Nakasone remain true to what he said early this year: "If you cannot muster the courage to enter a tiger's den, you will not catch a tiger cub"?

New Tendencies

Although Nakasone's term does not expire till late October, behind-the-scenes fight for the premiership has already begun. The three main contenders are the Minister of Foreign Affairs Shintaro Abe, the Minister of Finance Noburu Takeshita and the chairman of the LDP Executive Council Kiichi Miyazawa, who are known as the "new leaders." Abe has the support of the Fukuda faction and his father-in-law, former premier Kishi. Takeshita has firm support among members of the Tanaka faction. Miyazawa has the backing of the Suzuki faction and is rapidly building up his political capital not only by sharply criticizing the Prime Minister's policy but also by putting forward his own economic programme.

Although they have long been awaiting their turn to assume the premiership, the "new leaders," strange as it may seem, have not lately been so eager to replace Nakasone. His successor will inherit a very heavy burden

of economic and political problems. Some observers predict that the "new leaders" will agree to give way to an influential politician of the older generation—either the LDP vice-president Susumu Nikaido or the LDP secretary-general Shin Kanemaru—one or other of whom would then busy himself with cleaning out the Augean stables. Neither should Nakasone be written off: he is still capable of springing a great many surprises on his rivals. The dissolution of parliament and the holding of double elections is also opposed by the leaders of the opposition parties. The leaders of Komeito and the Democratic Socialist Party, in the course of their clandestine meetings with Nakasone's opponents in the LDP, are discussing the possibility of forming a united front against him.

The tendency towards close cooperation between the LDP and the centrist parties appeared several years ago. Important factors here were the friendly personal relations of party leaders, origins in the same parts of the country and membership of associations of graduates of the same universities. The political course of the centrists has visibly shifted to the right, especially where the problems of developing the armed forces, foreign policy orientation and attitude to left-wing parties are concerned. The resolve of the right-wing opposition to ally itself with the LDP, and even form a government with it, manifested itself in December 1983 when the LDP was short of votes and was helped out by the New Liberal Club party. Representatives of the DSP and Komeito have in recent months stated their readiness to follow the NLC's example. Considering the factional strife within the ruling party, one cannot discount the possibility of its breaking up and forming a right-of-centre coalition with the NLC, DSP and Komeito.

Local observers say this tendency will manifest itself several years from now. The same can also be said of some other alarming tendencies in Japan's political life. These are the declining role and effectiveness of parliament, which succumbs increasingly easily to government pressure, the longing for a "strong man" at the helm of state power, the spreading of stereotypes of "Japanese exclusiveness" and the "unfairness of the postwar arrangement of the world," the growth of anti-communist feeling and the desire to isolate the Japanese Communist Party from the other parties of the opposition.

Will the predictions about the opening of a new period in Japanese history in the Year of the Tiger be borne out? Fortune-tellers are often wrong.

Y. TAVROVSKY
Our Own Correspondent

Tokyo

Siege of "Fortress Wapping"

"Fortress Wapping," or even "Stalag Wapping"* is what British papers call the walled and barbed-wired printing plant affiliated to the transnational corporation News International. The owner, Rupert Murdoch, one of the biggest media tycoons, has built an ultramodern computerized printshop in the East London port district of Wapping, where the corporation-owned London papers—The Times, The Sunday Times, The Sun, and News of the World—are printed.

In investing no small fortune in the new undertaking, Murdoch intended to kill two birds with one stone. His first objective was to make his papers more competitive through modernization, which makes possible substantial cuts in personnel, while his second was to bridle the print workers' union by facing it with the prospect of waiving some of its rights, with its members either accepting Murdoch's fettering terms or being locked out.

Specifically, Murdoch wanted the print workers to undertake not to strike and to abandon the "closed shop" principle. What the second point in fact means is that employment would cease to be conditional on trade union membership, thus leaving Murdoch free to take on scabs, and making it possible for him to manoeuvre himself into a position from which trade union activity could be paralyzed. Murdoch warned the workers that failure to accept his ultimatum would cost them their jobs.

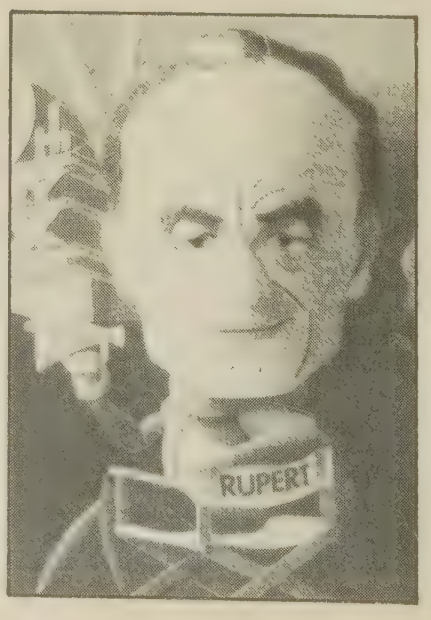
With his long anti-labour record, Murdoch could not, of course, have failed to realize that his terms were unacceptable to the print workers. No sooner had they rejected them outright than Murdoch laid off six thousand blue- and white-collar workers at his News International subsidiary. The print workers did not take this lying down, however. Supported by their trade union, at the end of January they called a strike, which is still going on. As was to be expected, Murdoch brought in the scabs he had recruited in advance. Fortress walls were erected around the plant. Flying picket lines, at times up to 10,000-strong, formed around the barbed-wire entanglements as hundreds and thousands of sympathizers stepped in to help the strikers in the fight.

Crack riot police units are hurled at the "troublemakers." The police charge the picketers both on foot and on horseback with truly professional expertise. Clashes were especially fierce in early May. According to an eyewitness, police made one attack after another, clubbing anyone who got in their way, often with brutal relish. About 80 protesters were arrested, and 88 seriously injured.

The current industrial conflict is the most acute that Britain has seen of late.

* Stalag: a POW camp in nazi Germany.

Rupert Murdoch as depicted by Time magazine.



Little known until recently, Wapping has now come to epitomize not only the desire of Big Business to cash in on scientific and technological progress, but also the staunchness of the workingman. Addressing a meeting outside the plant, the prominent Labour MP Tony Benn said that "inside the fortress is the power of capital. Outside are the forces of labour. Inside is the instrument for telling lies, while outside are the people wanting the truth."

Who is Rupert Murdoch, the commandant of Fortress Wapping?

Murdoch embarked on his career in 1955, having inherited a run-down daily paper in his home town of Adelaide, Australia. Today his News International has a turnover of 1.4 billion dollars a year and publishes more than 80 newspapers and magazines in Australia, Britain and the U.S. In London, his papers include the "respectable" Times and Sunday Times, as well as the far from respectable Sun and News of the World, and in Australia, the evening paper Daily Mirror, unrivalled for its circulation. In New York, Murdoch controls the New York Post, also a mass-circulation paper, and the New York Magazine. In March 1985 he purchased over half the stock of the film corporation 20th Century—Fox.

Murdoch's company owns two Australian television stations and four publishing companies. Recently, Murdoch purchased a controlling interest in the Satellite Television Co. In short, the News International is one of the Western world's biggest media empires.

A demonstration of protest against the dismissal of print workers from Murdoch-owned British papers.

Photo from Time magazine

As the American magazine Business Week has put it, "the man from Down Under . . . is moving towards his dream." Murdoch's "formula for success," which he is believed to apply to all his publications, is invariable: get your stories across to the man in the street by making them sensational and succinct and lacing them generously with crime and sex. Murdoch's papers paint a sinister picture of a world where crooks, paranoiacs, madmen rob and torment their innocent victims and where "malicious immigrants" threaten local residents. As for political and economic issues, they are too dull for his publications to concern themselves with.

Murdoch's "formula" is nothing new, of course. However, it is regarded as too brash even by the standards of the bourgeois media. This partly explains the opprobrium the more "reputable" bourgeois publications often vent on Murdoch.

When Bears and Cowboys Tremble

How to Travel in Europe and Stay Alive

If you are an American and have been invited to some athletic competition in Western Europe, it is best not to accept the invitation. If you cannot get out of it, under no circumstances let anyone know the date of your departure, or the number of your flight. And make sure that you arrive a day or two late. It is also advisable to leave unexpectedly, say, an hour before the finals. If you are disqualified for being late, thank your lucky stars and go to the U.S. Embassy. It will provide you protection and send you back to the States through covert channels. If you are nevertheless allowed to participate, keep it a secret as long as you can that you are an American. As for your sport outfits with the letters "U.S.A.," burn them in your hotel room if you didn't have time to do so on board the plane. Try to speak with the accent English is spoken by nationals of some neutral country, the principality of Liechtenstein, for instance. In general, be polite, and change your dollars into some less common currency, such as Pakistani rupees. If during contests you find yourself overtaking some competitor, pull back and let the rival gain the lead. Remember: the names of the winners are announced and their national flags hoisted at stadiums. What do you need all that for?

We cannot vouch for the exact wording of the recommendations circulated by the U.S. Olympic Committee among American sports organizations. But recommendations of this kind really do exist. According to the Washington Post, they contain instructions on "how to travel in Europe and stay alive." Mike Moran, U.S. Olympic Committee director of media and public information, advises U.S. athletes not to advertise that they are Americans. There is a strict ban on wearing outfits indicating that the wearer is an American. All these are safeguards against attacks by terrorists, who are said to be on the lookout for U.S. citizens overseas. At any rate, the U.S. press has been alerting American athletes and all other U.S. nationals to this for a long time. Thus terrorized out of their wits, Americans are more likely to understand and support the "anti-terrorist" action against Libya, which West Europeans find hard to accept.

The terror-mongering propaganda is having an effect. For instance, U.S. tennis players, the Washington Post reports, are not going to Italy or France, and will stay away from the Wimbledon tournament in Britain. An American bicycle team cut short their projected Tour of Spain. "There is no reason to get killed over a bike race," the captain of the team said. The members of a women's basketball team of the University of North Carolina are staying home, and the Chicago Bears and the Dallas Cowboys get cold feet at the thought of having to give a demonstration of American soccer at London's Wembley stadium on August 3. The Bears' coach admitted to newsmen that he would like to take along a machine gun in the plane and wondered whether the stadium would be bombed from the air. Famous sprinters, too, are falling into a trotting pace.

Perhaps one could nevertheless make a try at a 100-metre dash in Europe? One would, of course, have to run very, very fast. Away from terrorist hysteria.

L. YELIN

In the West, two streams are distinguished in the mass media, each with its own objectives, methods and forms of presentation. Whereas the "big media" are supposed to keep the ruling circles more or less accurately informed of the state of affairs on the economic and political fronts, the "opinion press" has the function of manipulating public opinion, preventing public passions from running too high, and obscuring the causes of the problems and difficulties besetting its readers. In discharging this function the bourgeois mass media naturally concentrate on those spheres of public life where class relations manifest themselves indirectly, if at all. The "opinion press," which is Murdoch's province, caters to those who, as the well-known American politologist Walter Lippmann said, "find their own lives dull and wish to live a more thrilling existence." However, "dullness" in this case is really a euphemism for the growing social passivity and political apathy of certain sections of bourgeois society, resulting in the main from the indifference of the powers-that-be and their state machinery to the interests of the public.

In the Western world newspapers, magazines, radio and television have long been capitalist enterprises. The media business is governed by the law of the jungle as much as any other sphere of capital investment. Murdoch drives a hard bargain and his aggressiveness and lack of principle are exceptional even by capitalist standards.

He buys the same newspapers and magazines as any other Australian, British or American citizen—only he buys them complete with the companies they belong to. More often than not he does this through intermediaries. His name surfaces only after a deal has been clinched and it's too late to change anything.

The Murdoch success story is only too reminiscent of the old rags-to-riches theme—even though this time it is on a global capitalist scale, rather than on American soil. It is too perfect an illustration of the myth of the "society of equal opportunities" to be quite true. The magic "formula for success" has been overused since the last century and, at the end of this one, is too trite to work even if taken up by a very able, aggressive and unprincipled upstart from Adelaide.

Murdoch's much-publicized and turbulent career suggests that he is himself fronting for powerful forces out to concentrate control of the Western "opinion press" in their hands. An Australian who has become an international press magnate thanks to his own push—is the story not tailor-made to glorify the "as yet unfathomed opportunities" offered by capitalism?

In expanding his empire, Murdoch sticks to the rule of "borrow, buy, and borrow more." Usually he makes bids for publications that are in dire financial straits. He bought the Boston Herald for a down payment of a million dollars, with the remaining seven million to come from future profits. According to the magazine Fortune, Murdoch borrows "phenomenal sums" for his transactions. In order to borrow to such an extent surely one must be able to get unlimited credit. The anonymous quarters from which he gets this credit must have absolute trust in the man from Down Under. The magazine Newsweek puts it in more definite terms: Murdoch's "borrowings already come to 70 per cent of [his company's] total capital." Nevertheless, he has continued to buy up more and more periodicals, including the London Times and Sunday Times, which were losing millions a month at the time of the takeover, and the New York Post.

For all the interest they take in the newly-fledged magnate, the Western media decline to delve into matters of real substance—namely, who is pushing Murdoch to notoriety, if not to power, and why. It was only on one occasion, when Murdoch purchased part of the shares of the New York Post, that the New York Times leaked information about his having written out the cheque in the name of the European American Bank and Trust Corporation, which had links with the Franklin National Bank that went bankrupt in 1975 and was involved in the scandal concerning the Italian banker Sindona, the mafia and the CIA....

Murdoch's incursions on the U.S. newspaper market and his successful performance on the preserves of the U.S. monopolists of the printed word are linked with the economic crisis of the early seventies. Playing on the growing social alienation of vast sections of the public, Murdoch thrust upon the American reader crime, black magic, ESP and apocalyptic stories to garnish the traditional juicy gossip about movie, TV and rock music stars. American commentators point out that the New York Post has turned into a "screaming tabloid," pandering to the fears and fantasies of a certain category of the reading public. Exclaimed Eugene Patterson, a Florida newspaper editor: "We've never seen that penny-dreadful type of journalism even in the worst days of Hearst"—meaning, of course, the press king William Randolph Hearst (1863-1951) whose publications won the unenviable reputation of being "yellow." An observer walked out of the Chicago Sun Times—a recent Murdoch acquisition—saying that "no self-respecting fish would be wrapped" in a Murdoch newspaper.

That Rupert Murdoch is on the extreme right goes without saying. Being a "cosmopolitan" and the proprietor of mass-circulation papers read on three continents, he can exert a substantial influence on developments in Australia, Western Europe and the U.S. by manipulating public opinion and encouraging those political forces and politicians invariably opposed to social progress. He uses his political influence exclusively to back the right, in the interests of Big Business and the military-industrial complex.

Murdoch describes his political views as "radical conservatism." He says his publications are "very much for small business and small man." This demagogy is aimed at the gullible. Murdoch seeks to rally around himself and assume control of the petty bourgeoisie of the industrialized English-speaking world. He is a symbol of the process of global centralization of the opinion-manipulating media in the West.

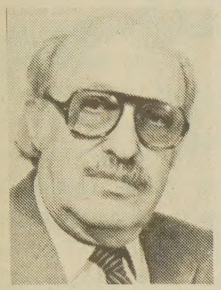
By flirting with the petty bourgeoisie through Murdoch—as nazi ideologists flirted with German shopkeepers through Goebbels—and capitalizing on their baser instincts—the capitalist West's ruling classes are determined to keep the "small man" in the orbit of its influence and control. An Australian who has come all the way from being a backwoods "small man" to ruling an international newspaper empire is a most convenient means to this end.

S. KOLESNICHENKO

TAKING UP A POINT

Of late it has become practically a fashion for you to talk about social justice. It strikes me as curious that you have remembered the subject nearly seventy years after the Communists came to power in Russia and promised to build a paradise on earth. What have you been doing all this time?

Henry BROOKS
Birmingham, England



Our staff writer MIKHAIL KOBRIN replies:

The fact that we now devote so much attention to social justice in no way means that the question has been outside our range of vision until now. After all, it was for the sake of social justice that the socialist revolution was carried out in our country in 1917. And the first legislative acts of the Soviet government were aimed at ensuring genuine justice to the working people of town and country. One of these acts—the Decree on Peace—embodied man's age-old dream of a world without wars, these inevitable concomitants of the unjust, exploitative system. Another took their holdings away from the landlords, made the land the property of the people and distributed it free of charge among tens of millions of peasants.

Thus began the greatest ever stride forward in social relations. And in subsequent decades too our society did not mark time. I could cite countless examples which could take care of your rather sarcastic question. However, I shall confine myself to those suggested by my own personal experience.

Today we take pride in the fact that all our citizens enjoy the right to work. Yet I remember the queues outside labour exchanges in the 1920s. We now have no orphans left at the mercy of fate. No one of my generation has forgotten the ragged waifs and strays of his youth. They rode the rods from one part of the country to another, they huddled around asphalt heaters for warmth, and sought shelter in basements and abandoned houses. In our country the oppression of national minorities has been abolished for ever. My parents, being Jews, could not get a higher education in tsarist Russia. Their parents spent the greater part of their lives, all the way up to the revolution, in humiliating "pales of settlement," whose inhabitants were in effect deprived of civil rights and allowed to earn their livelihood only as petty tradesmen, artisans and draymen.

Does this not bring to your mind the overcrowded "coloured" neighbourhoods of your own city and the police violence against their unfortunate inhabitants? Or the Catholic ghettos of Belfast and Derry? I was there some years ago and shall never forget the fire-gutted buildings set alight by Protestant ultras, the black flags in memory of the victims of Long Kesh, or the British soldiers crouching in doorways with submachine guns at the ready.

I assure you that our entire life, all our social relations have always been pervaded by a determined striving for social justice, a resolve to translate the desire into the reality. The results are undeniable: genuine government by the people, the equality of all citizens before the law, the equality of all nations and nationalities, equal access to cultural values, a guaranteed right to work, education, rest and recreation, medical care, security in old age and in case of illness, etc. For detailed information about the rights of Soviet citizens I would advise you to glance through the Constitution of the U.S.S.R., of which I am sending you a copy in English in case you would like to read it.

As you can see, much has been accomplished. Very much, especially considering the enormous economic and human losses caused our people by three devastating wars—the first imperialist war, the civil war, and World War II.

Far be it from me to try to persuade you that we have created something of a "paradise on earth." There is still much to be done before we reach our ultimate goal—**full** social justice for **every** Soviet citizen.

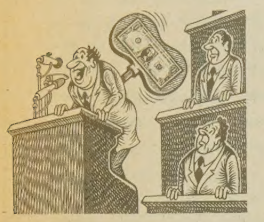
In recent years, owing to objective and subjective causes, there was an accumulation of serious unresolved problems in our economy which gave rise to undesirable phenomena also in the social sphere. The reference is to distortions in the implementation of the fundamental principle of socialism, "from each according to his abilities, to each according to his work." Parasitic and levelling tendencies asserted themselves. Overt and covert embezzlement, bribery and nepotism assumed considerable proportions. The exposure of these and other negative phenomena alien to socialism and timely and adequate action to counter them were impeded by tendencies towards ostentation, embellishment of reality, and also bureaucracy that still remains to be overcome.

The Soviet Communists had the civic courage to make public at their 27th Congress the whole truth about the difficulties encountered in the building of socialism and their root causes. This truth became the point of departure in the cardinal restructurning of economic mechanisms, in perfecting the political and social structure—a restructuring making possible a sharp turn in all spheres of our social life. The cleansing winds of change naturally could not but affect social problems as well, for, as was underscored at the congress, strict observance of the principle of social justice is an important precondition of the unity of the people, of the political stability of society, and its dynamic development.

The 27th Congress drew up concrete plans for carrying our society to a higher stage of development. This gives me grounds to say that you will be able to see for yourself that our plans are realistic. In carrying them out we are not starting from zero: social justice has always been and always will be the supreme goal of the Communists. ■

POSTSCRIPT

How Much Was He Paid?



Generous contributions by American corporations to the campaign chests of candidates for election to Congress is an established way of ensuring their victory. As a rule it's the man who has the most money to lay out that wins. The Democrat Senator William Proxmire has thought of an original way to lessening the propulsion power of this dollar springboard. He suggests that every TV report of a Congressman's speech in support of some bill be accompanied by a report of exactly what part of his campaign funds was donated by the businessmen interested in its adoption. In short, how much he was paid for his zeal. An interesting suggestion, but hardly likely to win much support.

Logical Balance

The huge cost of the aggressive policy of Tel Aviv is depressing living conditions in Israel to such an extent that more and more of its citizens are leaving the country. Last year, according to clearly minimized official figures, more than 19,000 persons emigrated from Israel. And the number of immigrants is steadily declining. This year, immigration minister Yaacov Tsur says, it will be the lowest since Israel came into being. Altogether more than 10 per cent of the population has left the country since the formation of the state of Israel, the local press says.

Uneven Chances

The U.S. television company CBS predicts that fewer Americans will be travelling to Europe this summer for fear of being attacked by terrorists. But are their apprehensions justified, CBS asks. About 6.5 million Americans visited Europe last year and only 10 of them died at the hands of terrorists. That makes one in 650,000. Americans, the TV company says, have 52 times more chances of being killed at home in the United States.

Apropos of Priorities

In Chancellor Helmut Kohl's public relations schedule the priorities are very clearly defined. He takes pleasure in addressing gatherings of revanchist societies (in mid-May he held forth at a meet of "Sudeten Germans"). But he fights shy of meeting with representatives of the working people. He is too pressed for time. The F.R.G. television reports that Herr Kohl has decided to refrain from attending the congress of the Federation of German Trade Unions due to be held shortly. The reason given for this decision, the TV said, was the Chancellor's "very tight schedule."

Harrowing Statistics

A growing number of children and juveniles in the U.S. are committing suicide. A Metropolitan Life insurance study showed that the number of young Americans under 15 who have taken their own lives in the past 35 years has increased nine times over. The total for the past year alone was 28,500. The study does not indicate the causes of this sad phenomenon. But Professor Douglas Jacobs of the Harvard Medical School holds that children see suicide as a way out of many difficult problems.

Embarrassing

The U.S. Administration is faced with a difficult and delicate problem: where to find a home for ex-president of the Philippines Ferdinand Marcos who was flown out of his country to the Hawaiian Islands on an American plane. Not a single country has agreed to give him asylum. The New York Times says U.S. Secretary of State Shultz asked the Philippine authorities to issue Marcos a passport that would enable him to travel outside of U.S. territory. But the request was refused. The problem now is what to do with Marcos, whom Reagan only recently called his old personal friend.

Rock Preachers

Bernd-Jürgen Hamann, the pastor of the Church of St. Louise in West Berlin, is known to his parishioners not only as the "motorbike priest" but also as the "rock pastor." For three years now he has been celebrating Mass to the accompaniment of rock music. When reproached with having turned the church into a "rock rink," Hamann says: "Not all that is loud comes from the Devil. Rock music can stir us with the inspiring power of Jesus." To back up his rock credo he invited Bishop Martin Kruse, head of the Evangelical Church, to preach a sermon. The bishop did so—to rock music.

From One Who Knows

Norma Almodovar, a California call girl, has announced her candidacy for the post of lieutenant-governor of the state, according to a Reuter report. "Prostitution and politics have more in common than one might suppose," she says.

Drawings by V. Chakiridis

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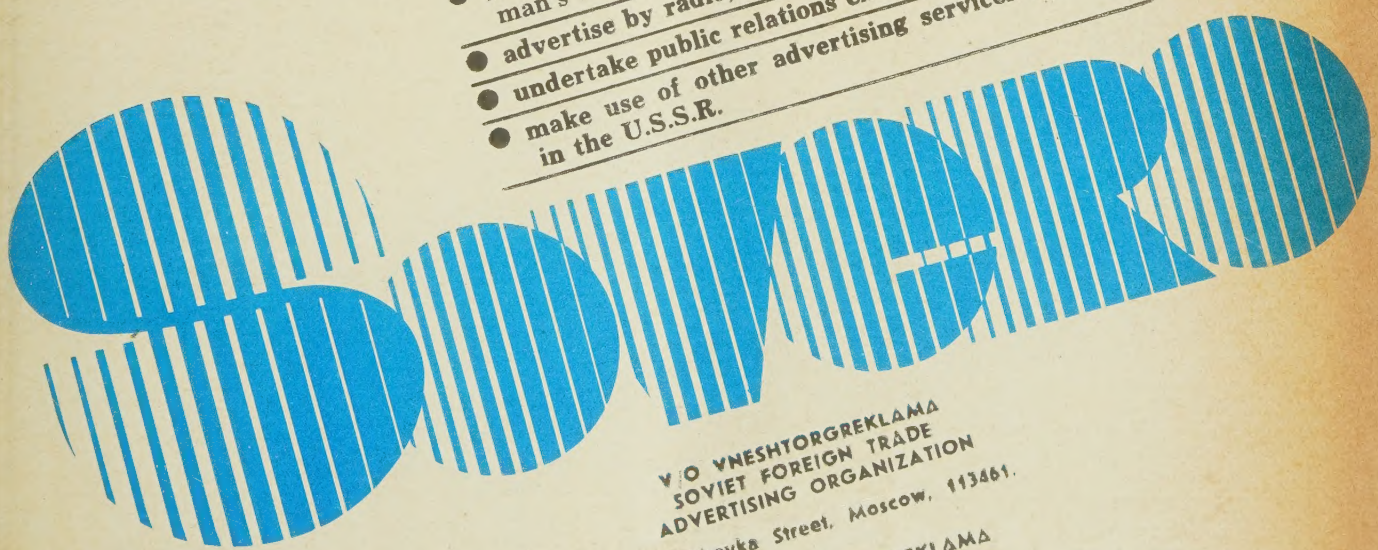

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INTERNATIONAL YEAR OF PEACE

PHOTO AND GRAPHICS CONTEST

Drawing by Rudolf KHACHATRYAN (U.S.S.R.)

Rudolf Khachatryan is a well-known Soviet graphic artist who has been awarded the title of People's Artist of Armenia. A recent exhibition of his works in the United States was well received by American art connoisseurs.

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